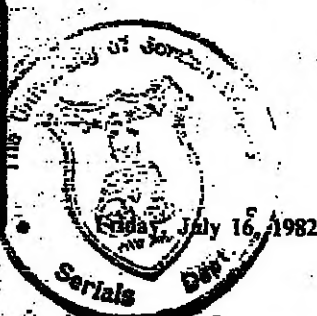


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## Haddad expands rule northward

By DAVID BERNSTEIN  
and BENNY MORRIS  
Jerusalem Post Reporters

SIDON — Major Sa'ad Haddad revealed yesterday that his forces have taken up positions along a line from the Awali River in the west to the Karoun area of the southern Bekaa Valley in the east, and that he is busy installing the infrastructure of his military rule in the whole area to the south.

Speaking to *The Jerusalem Post* in his new headquarters in the Sidon city hall, Haddad said that he has already begun expanding his force

to a one-division army. It would hold this entire 3,000-square-kilometre area in trust until a general settlement of the Lebanese crisis was reached.

"The piece of terrain we used to control was a form of insurance for all Lebanon. We are widening this piece of territory up to the Awali River. We are already there. I have my troops there," he said.

Haddad emphatically laid down three conditions that the Beirut government will have to meet before he agrees to merge his "trust"

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

## Top PLO man surrenders

One of the leading PLO commanders, Salah Ta'amri, who is married to former Jordanian Queen Dina, gave himself up to the IDF in Sidon earlier this week, because in his view the armed struggle of the PLO is over.

This was reported last night by Kol Yisrael Arab affairs correspondent Aharon Barnea, who interviewed Ta'amri, as well as former Queen Dina, who is now in Cairo. She lived with him in Sidon until the Israeli forces reached the town.

Ta'amri, who holds a rank equivalent to that of lieutenant colonel and whose full name is Assad Suleiman Abdel Khadel, was for several years the chief PLO commander in South Lebanon and also headed the Fatah youth organization after he moved to Lebanon from Karameh in Jordan.

The former PLO commander told Kol Yisrael that following the Israeli invasion of South Lebanon, the PLO's military struggle has come to an end and the one thing to do now is for the PLO to leave Beirut and reorganize for its political struggle. This would also save lives of many Lebanese civilians, he said.

## Sharon: Good prospects for political solution in Beirut

By ASHER WALLFISH  
Post Knesset Correspondent

Defence Minister Ariel Sharon said yesterday that Israel's aim is to get the PLO out of Beirut by political means.

Briefing the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, Sharon said that good prospects exist for a political solution. However, Sharon added, Israel also has a military option, and the time is allowing for the political option is not unlimited.

He listed three factors militating against an Israeli assault on West Beirut: the prospect of heavy casualties among the Israeli soldiers; the same prospect with regard to Beirut's non-combatant residents; and the need to avoid undermining understanding with the U.S. government.

In the past couple of days, Sharon

said, the siege of West Beirut has been eased somewhat. Supplies of water and electricity were now allowed into the besieged quarters. However, the PLO was not able to get arms into West Beirut and its general situation was not bright.

Sharon said that the army has no desire to spend the winter in Lebanon. But it had to consider that possibility.

He rejected a proposal by former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin that the PLO's first move on quitting West Beirut should be to Tripoli in northern Lebanon. The Israeli government is determined that the PLO men in West Beirut should quit Lebanese territory entirely, he said.

Rabin said in the discussion that since the Israeli Defence Forces have not eliminated the PLO as a

(Continued on page 2, col. 6)



Three young PLO terrorists yesterday place a land mine in a hole they have just dug in a road near the Sabra refugee camp in Beirut.

(UPI telephone)

## Terrorist killed in attacks on IDF unit

Jerusalem Post Staff and Agencies

TEL AVIV. — A terrorist was killed and an Israeli soldier slightly wounded in yesterday's exchanges of fire in Lebanon, the Israel Defence Forces spokesman reported here yesterday.

He added that the cease-fire in Beirut was "generally observed," although some light arms fire was heard from "unidentified sources."

The terrorist was killed close to 9 a.m. in the eastern sector. According to the IDF spokesman's account, terrorists fired at Israeli troops, who returned the fire. The IDF suffered no casualties in that exchange, the spokesman said.

The soldier was hit in an earlier exchange in the eastern sector of the cease-fire line near the Beirut-Damascus road. The IDF spokesman did not say who shot him. The announcement, issued at

6.45 a.m., only said that light-arms fire was directed at dawn towards an IDF position and similar fire was returned.

An IDF spokesman yesterday denied reports from Beirut that Israeli artillery opened fire near the Beirut Airport before dawn yesterday. There was no Israeli artillery fire, the spokesman said.

A PLO communique claimed that its forward positions near Beirut Airport repulsed a pre-dawn Israeli attempt to infiltrate into the eastern runway.

It said a five-man Israeli unit tried to sneak into the airport's eastern runway under covering artillery and tank fire but they were stopped, intercepted and forced to retreat.

Israeli forces and terrorists traded artillery and machine gun fire around Beirut Airport early yesterday Lebanon's state radio reported.

## U.S. says Arab world must find PLO a home

WASHINGTON (AP). — The American government said yesterday that the Arab world has a responsibility to find a home for the Palestine Liberation Organization fighters now holed up in West Beirut.

"Now is the appropriate time for the Arab community to assist in the resolution of this particular issue," said State Department spokesman Dean Fischer.

He was reflecting the administration's frustration that none of the nearby Arab nations has offered to take the 6,000 PLO members who Israel and the U.S. are insisting must leave Beirut.

Finding a home for the PLO — now called "PLO fighters" by the State Department — has emerged

as the key issue in ending the Israeli siege of West Beirut.

"The issue of where the PLO fighters are to go remains unresolved," said Fischer. "We are hopeful that the Arab community will find a way to help resolve this issue promptly."

Fischer also said the PLO has "agreed in principle" to evacuate Beirut. It was the first time the administration publicly declared there is such a commitment, although PLO officials have indicated previously their combat units will leave Beirut if certain conditions are met.

The foreign ministers of Syria and Saudi Arabia are expected in Washington next week as part of an Arab League delegation to discuss the Lebanese crisis.

The question of finding a place for the PLO fighters undoubtedly will be raised. The U.S. considers Syria the most likely place to send the PLO, but it so far has refused to accept them.

Fischer also said he has seen reports that Israel is insisting that Palestinian refugees evacuate their camps in southern Lebanon and be relocated elsewhere.

While he said he could not confirm that Israel has made such a demand, he indicated the location of the refugee camps is not up to Israel.

"We feel the location of the camps for Palestinian refugees in Lebanon is a matter for the Lebanese government and the UN"

(Continued on page 4)

## PLO asks Syria to accept evacuees

Jerusalem Post Staff

In an effort to get talks moving again, PLO leader Yasser Arafat yesterday formally informed Syria that the PLO would like to move there if an evacuation agreement is reached, informed sources in Beirut said. But a commentary on Damascus Radio denied that any such request has been made.

According to political sources in Damascus, Syrian President Hafiz Assad had cabled U.S. President Ronald Reagan requesting Syria's decision not to grant sanctuary to Palestinians who may be forced to leave Lebanon. Syrian Foreign

Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam reiterated Syria's refusal when speaking to reporters in Nicosia.

The sources said Assad told Reagan that no formal request has been made by the Palestinians for asylum and that no such decision can be made until the Israelis withdraw from Lebanon.

Efforts to forge an agreement that will end the IDF siege on West Beirut remained bogged down yesterday, with the U.S. and Lebanese negotiators failing to utilize the respite afforded by the cease-fire to reach an agreed formula for the evacuation of the PLO.

Last week, the peace talks ground to a virtual halt when Syria — the most obvious destination for the 5,000 to 6,000 PLO fighters holed up in Beirut — said it could not accept them.

On July 9, Syria announced that it will not accept any Palestinians forced from Beirut and said that the place for them to fight for their rights is in Lebanon.

Until the Syrian statement, it seemed that all parties in the negotiation had accepted the idea of a PLO evacuation to Syria and had turned their attention to how

(Continued on page 1)

## Government advised to accept Beirut plan

By HIRSH GOODMAN  
Post Defence Correspondent

Israeli negotiators have recommended that the government accept the basic elements of the plan being discussed to remove the PLO from West Beirut. This would entail an Israeli withdrawal to about five kilometres from the Israel Defence Forces' present lines; placing a multi-national force in the city (whether before or after the PLO begins to leave is still an issue being debated); and guaranteed land passage for the PLO to Syria.

The problem is that Syria is adamant in its refusal to accept the

PLO. Saudi Arabian promises of billions of dollars (offered at the insistence of the Americans) have not managed to change President Hafiz Assad's mind about accepting radical and pro-Iraqi elements of the PLO into his unstable country. Hints from Washington of a more tolerant attitude toward Syria in the future have also failed to satisfy Assad that the risk is worthwhile.

Analysts in Jerusalem believe that Assad will relent only if his position in the Arab world is bolstered as a result of the step. There are clear indications that, in spite of his military losses in Operation Peace for

Gailee, Assad's political position is far stronger than it was before the war. He has managed to break the isolation caused by Syria's support of Iran in its war with Iraq. Saudi Arabia is courting him, and Jordan is interested in Assad's inheriting responsibility for containing the terrorists.

The Israeli military, however, in Lebanon has also provided Assad with a long-sought after excuse to extricate the 25,000-odd troops he has bogged down in Lebanon, thus seriously depleting his forces, needed to ensure both internal

(Continued on page 4)

## Iran, Iraq claim victory in massive battle

NICOSIA (AP). — Iran claimed yesterday that its troops were entrenched on Iraqi soil after launching a major offensive to topple the Iraqi regime, while Iraq reported that its forces had mounted a successful counter-attack and "purged Iraqi soil" of the Persian invaders.

The conflicting reports could not be independently verified, but communications from both Tehran and Baghdad indicated that fighting

continued for the second straight day around Iraq's southern port city of Basra.

In Washington, U.S. intelligence sources said that about 200,000 Iraqi and Iranian troops were involved in what may be the biggest single battle since World War II.

The latest Iranian communique carried by the state-run Teheran radio rejected Iraqi claims of victory and said that a "feeble enemy counter-offensive was defeated this

morning by the (Iranian) forces of Islam and the Ba'athist Zionist aggressors were forced to retreat after losing 10 tanks and a number of other vehicles."

The official Iraqi News Agency, INA, quoted an Iraqi military communique as saying that Iraqi forces successfully forced a complete Iranian retreat by mounting a three-pronged counter-attack. INA quoted its correspondent at the war front as saying that the Iraqi forces

succeeded in pinning the Iranians into "a narrow border strip." It said the battleground was littered with "Iranian corpses and the wrecked tanks the retreating enemy left behind."

An Iranian war communique said Iranian jets blasted Iraqi positions in the southern sector of the 500-kilometre battlefield.

Iraq said two Iranian, U.S.-made

(Continued on Page 3)

## U.S. may condemn Israel for using U.S. arms

By WOLF BLITZER  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The Reagan administration is expected to notify Congress shortly that Israel may have violated its legal commitments to the U.S. by using American-supplied weapons during the fighting in Lebanon.

In addition, the administration is likely to conclude that Israel's acknowledged use of cluster bombs in Lebanon may have violated a separate 1979 U.S.-Israeli agreement signed by then-foreign minister Moshe Dayan. That agreement placed severe restrictions on the use of cluster bombs.

Following the submission of a formal report on the use of U.S.-supplied weapons, the Congress will hold hearings on the entire matter,

before determining what — if any — punishment the U.S. should take against Israel. Several senators, led by Democrat John Glenn of Ohio, have already promised to call for such hearings.

A State Department official yesterday told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that the formal administration report would be sent to Congress within a day — perhaps even later last night.

Former national security advisor Richard Allen, while strongly defending Israel on several key points during the Committee hearing yesterday, agreed that Israel had violated earlier agreements with the U.S. by its use of American-supplied arms during the fighting in Lebanon. Israel has denied this.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

## Tehiya seen in coalition in two weeks

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Coalition sources expect that Tehiya will join the coalition within a fortnight.

Tehiya MKs yesterday met with Prime Minister Menachem Begin and representatives of all coalition parties for the first round of their coalition negotiations. The talks were described as "extremely cordial."

At the outset of the meeting, Begin stressed that "this government has guidelines from which it has no intention of deviating. If Tehiya enters the coalition, it will have to be on the basis of these guidelines."

Begin especially emphasized that the guidelines include adherence to the Camp David accords and the autonomy plan in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District. These are anathema to Tehiya, but Ne'eman

argued that the party must be guided by priorities, first of which is doing everything possible to expand Jewish settlements in the areas, and extending Israel law to them in some fashion.

It seems likely that Ne'eman will be appointed minister of science and development, on condition that his sphere of responsibility is clearly distinguished from that of other ministries, in order to avoid clashes. Ne'eman will thus have control of some funds to establish science-based enterprises in Judea and Samaria.

According to Tehiya sources, Ne'eman will probably be appointed deputy chairman of the ministerial committee on settlement. Tehiya will also ask to submit a letter to the coalition stating that it does not accept the Camp David accords. But it will not demand revision of the government guidelines on that point.

## Diplomats to go slow for fast redress of pay claims

By DAVID LANDAU  
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Israel's diplomats are threatening a work-to-rule in support of a long list of pay demands. The go-slow would be the first in the history of the foreign service. It would seek to put right what one activist called "34 years of accumulated grievances."

The Foreign Ministry staff committee, after comparing ministry pay slips and perquisites with those of other government departments, says that ministry staffers — especially those working in Jerusalem — are among the poorest paid and least advantaged in the entire civil service.

"For instance," said staff committee chairman Ze'ev Suffot, "one of the 800-odd additional payments on the civil service scale is the

'foreign-languages addition.' Do you think foreign service officers get it? Not a ha'penny. And some of them know half a dozen foreign languages."

Similarly, said Suffot, ministry personnel do not get the "clothing allowance" that is paid to all civil servants who receive members of the public in the course of their work. "We 'only' receive ministers and ambassadors," Suffot noted bitterly.

The staff committee recently wrote to Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Deputy Minister Yehuda Ben-Meir thanking them for their efforts to secure better pay for the staff. Shamir is understood to have held long discussions with Finance Minister Yoram Aridor, and to have persuaded him in principle that ministry staffers are entitled to the

same emoluments as other government employees whose work makes similarly strenuous demands on their time and family life.

But Aridor's reported agreement-in-principle has not produced any concrete results. Ministry staff activists say their demands have become bogged down in Treasury and Civil Service Commission bureaucracy.

The staff committee wrote to the minister and his deputy that since their intercession had failed, the staff would now have to consider acting with all the means at their disposal.

Under the planned work-to-rule, foreign ministry officials in Jerusalem will clock out at six p.m. They will refuse to attend receptions, dinners, cocktail parties, welcoming ceremonies, departure

ceremonies, diplomatic consultations or attend to any other diplomatic duties after that time. The communications department and cipher room at the ministry will also close at six; urgent messages will have to wait till morning. The duty officer will go home with the rest of the staff. On weekends the ministry will be closed from Friday noon to Sunday morning.

Israeli diplomats abroad will be instructed to act likewise: no social engagements in the evening, though these are a key part of every diplomat's work; no lectures or other public appearances after six p.m.

The work-to-rule will be a first step, said Suffot. It will not be applied so long as the present crisis in Lebanon continues, "when we are

(Continued on Page 3)

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AMSTERDAM	14	10	20
BRUSSELS	14	10	20
CHICAGO	19	10	20
COPENHAGEN	17	10	20
FRANKFURT	17	10	20
GENEVA	17	10	20
HELSINKI	14	10	20
HONG KONG	29	10	20
JAKARTA	29	10	20
LONDON	14	10	20
MADRID	14	10	20
MONTREAL	14	10	20
NEW YORK	14	10	20
OSLO	14	10	20
PARIS	14	10	20
RIO DE JANEIRO	29	10	20
SÃO PAULO	29	10	20
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## THE WEATHER

City	Yesterday's	Today's
Jerusalem	41	21-28
Golan	40	17-29
Nahariya	59	22-30
Safed	41	16-28
Haifa Port	68	18-29
Tiberias	40	33-35
Nazareth	50	19-29
Afula	49	21-31
Shomron	41	19-29
Tel Aviv	64	22-31
B-G Airport	54	23-31
Jericho	38	21-36
Gaza	74	21-28
Beer Sheva	30	19-32
Eilat	12	22-39

## Rav-Turai Eliezer to be buried today

The funeral of Rav-Turai Roni Eliezer, 20, will take place at 12 noon today in the Kiryat Shaul military cemetery in Tel Aviv. He died of wounds suffered during the exchanges of fire on Sunday with terrorists in the Beirut area.

## Senate confirms Shultz as secretary of state

WASHINGTON (AP). — George Shultz was confirmed by the Senate late yesterday as the 60th U.S. Secretary of State. The tally was never in doubt. Shultz, 61, effectively locked up his new job when he won the unanimous endorsement of the Foreign Relations Committee a day earlier.

## Elderly couple killed

TULKARM (Itim). — A man and his wife, aged 92, and 75, were murdered here last night by two unknown assailants, who robbed them of 7,000 Jordanian dinars (about \$2,000,000) and fled. Police have not arrested any suspects.

## U.S. ARMS

(Continued from Page One)

The argument has centered on whether those weapons were used strictly in "defense." Allen said that there was strong evidence that some Israeli military activities went beyond that limitation even as he expressed support for much of what Israel has done.

Joining Allen in appearing before the Senate panel was former under secretary of state for political affairs George Ball, one of Israel's most outspoken opponents. He bitterly condemned Israel's policies in Lebanon and in Judea and Samaria.

At one point, he said that he had emerged not long ago from a meeting with Defence Minister Ariel Sharon convinced that Sharon wanted to "push" the Arabs out of the West Bank, "leaving only enough for labour."

As he has done on many occasions over the past decade, he called on the U.S. to exert strong pressure on Israel to recognize the Palestinians.

# WORLD & HOME NEWS

## Dazzling Air Force Day despite the clouds of war

By HIRSH GOODMAN  
Post Defence Correspondent

The Israel Air Force held its usual fly-past in honour of Air Force Day yesterday. But in spite of the dazzling air display and the obvious pride of the families of those graduating from pilots' courses, the war in Lebanon was very much in evidence.

The star of the show was a captured Syrian Gazelle attack helicopter, which sported an Israeli air force star next to the Syrian air force insignia on its body. Six Gazelles were shot down during the fighting.

Guest of honour at the show was Defence Minister Ariel Sharon. He viewed the parade together with OC Air Force Aluf David Ivri, who awarded pilots' wings to graduating cadets, and Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan. Ivri told the cadets

## Israel won't lay down sword till terrorists out — Sharon

Jerusalem Post Staff

Israel has not put its sword back in its scabbard, and will not do so until the last of the terrorists is out of Beirut. Defence Minister Ariel Sharon said yesterday in his Air Force Day address.

"The Israeli sword is now resting on the throats of the terrorists in West Beirut — on them, their leaders, their staffs, and their bases. The Israel Defence Forces fighters are pressing on them from the reaches of the mountains of Lebanon; and the Israel Navy ensures the siege from the sea; and you, the fighters in the Air Force, are an integral and decisive part of this campaign," said Sharon.

"We are capable of removing the terrorist forces from West Beirut. We will dictate the conditions, not only because we are capable of doing so, but also because the issue is necessary for our existence in peace and security. On this issue we are uncompromising, united and determined; and we will not let up until we have achieved our goals," he continued.

## Begin's office clarifies his statements

Jerusalem Post Staff

The Prime Minister's Office last night issued a statement "clarifying" remarks made by Prime Minister Menachem Begin in the Knesset on June 8 and accusing opponents of Operation Peace for Galilee of "malicious distortion."

His office said that Begin did not refer to Palestinian Arabs as "two-legged animals," but that the relevant statement was: "We shall defend our children. If the hand of a two-legged animal is raised against them, it will be severed..."

## Head of 'Guards of Cedars' in Israel on way to U.S.

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The commander of Lebanon's militant Christian militia, the "Guards of the Cedars," is now in Jerusalem on his way from Beirut to Washington. There he intends to press the case of Lebanon's Christians who he says were neglected by the world during their seven years of suffering in Lebanon's ongoing civil war.

Abu Arz — Father of the Cedar, as he is known by his nom de guerre — yesterday told *The Jerusalem Post* that he will ask America's political leaders why they kept silent during the civil war in Lebanon — when some 100,000 Lebanese were killed by the PLO and the Syrians — but now, when both the PLO and the Syrians are in danger, are coming to the latter's support and turning against the Christians, as is the rest of the world.

He was firm in his demand that the PLO and its supporters in Beirut, whom he termed the "head of the snake," must get out of Lebanon without leaving any presence behind. As for the rest of the Palestinians in Lebanon, Abu Arz repeated his movement's demands that most of them should eventually be absorbed by the Arab countries, which have vast empty space and the resources to settle them. Perhaps some of those

that the IAF's performance in Lebanon was one that will have tactical and technological ramifications around the world. The IAF's loss ratio was the lowest in any of Israel's wars, and possibly the lowest in any war ever.

Planes and helicopters performed bomb runs and other maneuvers for the audience. Two F-16s and two F-15s, the stars of the war and undoubtedly the stars of the show, chased each other through steep turns and climbs with ear-shattering force. And a Hercules transport aircraft flew past while refuelling two Phantoms.

The celebration opened with a one-minute silence in honour of those who fell in Operation Peace for Galilee. A few seconds later, five Kfiras flew over in Shield of David formation, declaring the show officially open.



Entertainer Sammy Davis Jr., who is in Israel as a guest of the Soldiers Welfare Association and El Al, visited soldiers in Lebanon yesterday. Speaking to the soldiers, Davis said that on his return to the U.S., he will do all that he can to "correct the distortions about your — our — just struggle."

## Probe into shootings is inconclusive

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A military investigation into the deaths by shooting of two young men in Nabulus 10 days ago has so far failed to produce results. The bodies of the men were returned to their families for burial earlier this week after being examined by pathologists at the Abu Kabir forensic institute.

Military sources maintained at the time that troops in the area in which the two men were shot had not used their rifles. The investigation now apparently rests with ballistic experts in the National Police laboratories.

A 19-year-old soldier who shot and killed an Arab woman while on guard duty at the Beit El military complex last April was sentenced earlier this month to nine months' imprisonment, of which five were suspended.

The soldier was tried and convicted of negligent manslaughter by a military court at Israel Defence Forces headquarters in Tel Aviv.

The woman, a 40-year-old mother of four from Ein Yabrud in the Ramallah district, was tilling a family field when the soldier opened fire, apparently suspecting that she was approaching part of the military installation.

Radwan Abu Aish, a journalist on the East Jerusalem daily *A-Sha'ab*, was released from the Ramallah gaol yesterday. He had been held for the past 10 days on suspicion of possession of banned literature. On Wednesday, his wife gave birth to a daughter, whom the journalist promptly named *Tasmeed* ("Steadfastness").

## HADDAD EXPANDS

(Continued from Page One)

territory" in the south into the fabric of a reconstituted, sovereign Lebanon:

- The PLO must finally be evicted from Lebanon.
- All Syrian forces must be withdrawn.
- Peace must be concluded between the new sovereign Lebanon and Israel — including the existence of open borders and, under certain conditions, a "common defence agreement" between the two countries.

"If there is a global solution satisfying everybody, all the Lebanese, this area will join without any hesitation and without any obstacle all of Lebanon," Haddad said.

Haddad stated that his new army, which will number "something less than 50,000 men," will be financed by a regional revenue system, based on port taxes from Tyre and Sidon, a tax on the products of the Zaharani oil refinery and a general commercial tax.

He also suggested that the force should, at least in part, be financed by the Lebanese central government, which could perhaps divert part of the equipment it is receiving from the U.S. to his forces in the south.

Haddad said that "many thousands" of new recruits — Christians, Shi'a Muslims and Druse — joined his forces from the former PLO-held villages north of the Litani River, that they are already being trained and that he will have no trouble finding sufficient numbers for his division-sized army.

He was adamant that his enlarged force will be a more credible alternative for, and an efficient guarantor of, both Lebanon's and Israel's security than UNIFIL was in the past or any multinational force will be in the future.

"We had experience with an international force (UNIFIL) and it was a real failure. Why should they come back? We are living very well. The Lebanese forces are assuring their own security — why should we have strangers? It would be like an occupation force," Haddad said.

In an extensive tour of Haddad's new territory yesterday, his gray-painted armoured personnel carriers and jeeps were seen everywhere, from Hasbaya in the east through Nabatiya to Sidon, the "capital" of South Lebanon.

Many locals in predominantly Druse Hasbaya and Shi'a Nabatiya, however, voiced reservations about Haddad, expressing a distinct preference for a reimposition of Beirut's central control in the region.

Indicating an awareness of this, Haddad said that he is giving the gendarmes and police units in each town "full authority" for local law and order, while his own force devotes itself to general security in the area.

Haddad noted that he was "enthusiastically received" by the local population, including the major cities of Tyre and Sidon. He said he had "expected" this, as the people in the new areas "knew of our way of life in the small area" he had controlled in the south, and realized that he is "not a politician, but a Lebanese soldier dedicated to the application of Lebanese law."

They are "psychologically ready to cooperate with us," Haddad said. Asked about his personal ambitions, Haddad said that as a Roman Catholic he is ineligible for the Lebanese presidency — which he does not covet in any case. Circumstances, he said, "forced" him to become something of a politician in recent years.

"I will retire after Lebanon is unified, which is my main dream," he said.

## Mubarak: PLO exit from Beirut will raise tension

CAIRO. — Declaring that a Palestinian exit from Beirut will only heighten Middle East instability, President Hosni Mubarak called yesterday for an Arab summit conference, with Egyptian participation, to forge a unified policy on a solution of the Palestinian problem.

This solution, Mubarak said, must be based on the right of Palestinians to self-determination. The Egyptian leader urged the Reagan administration to open a "dialogue" with the PLO and said an exchange of recognition between the PLO and Israel has become necessary.

Mubarak, who was addressing a joint news conference with visiting West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, said: "The expulsion of the Palestinian forces from Lebanon under these circumstances and under the Israeli occupation will not solve the problem."

Mubarak said the PLO no longer calls for Israel's destruction and has deleted this from its Charter. "Accordingly, a mutual recognition (between Israel and the PLO) must take place."

"The Palestinians must be brought into the autonomy negotiations," he said. "Instead of expelling them, we must find them a land where they can take refuge."

We must give them the right of self-determination."

Mubarak's call for an Arab summit, with the participation, is a reversal of past policy and underlines the gravity with which he regarded the Lebanon crisis. Previously, Mubarak had said that he would not attend any conference in an Arab capital that does not maintain diplomatic relations with Egypt. He also said that it is up to the Arab states that broke off ties with Cairo in 1979 to restore relations.

Diplomatic sources said Mubarak's call was made in concert with Jordan's King Hussein, who only Wednesday urged Arab leaders to meet in a summit conference. The sources recalled that an Egyptian envoy, Foreign Under-Secretary Osama el-Baz, visited Amman during the past few days.

In another development, PLO leader Yasser Arafat yesterday appealed to member states of the non-aligned movement to "take forceful measures to end Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the PLO in that country."

In a message to the opening session in Nicosia of an extraordinary meeting of foreign ministers of the non-aligned movement, Arafat declared, "We expect you to take forceful measures to confront these crimes." (AP, UPI)

## Mitterrand meets with PLO's Kaddoumi

PARIS (UPI). — President Francois Mitterrand yesterday met with Farouk Kaddoumi, chief of the PLO political department, but a presidential spokesman said it was not a French gesture of support for the PLO.

Kaddoumi was one of a group of officials of the Arab League whom Mitterrand received to discuss the Israeli military operation to drive the PLO from Lebanon.

It was the first time Mitterrand

officially received a high-ranking official of the PLO.

Presidential spokesman Michel Vauzelle emphasized, however, that the audience "does not imply a change in the policies of France" and was not intended as a gesture of French support.

Mitterrand told the Arab delegation that France is ready to play a role in bringing peace to Lebanon. (Photograph — page 4)

## SHARON PROSPECTS

(Continued from Page One)

military organization, and will probably not do so in the future, Israel is unable to dictate the terms for the PLO's surrender. Although Israel is negotiating from a position of strength and the PLO is clearly the weaker party, Rabin said, there is no way of knowing how the negotiations will end, even if the starting point is clear for all sides.

Shlomo Hillel (Alignment-Labour) said that the government deserves praise for its patience in West Beirut and for its willingness to give the political option a chance. Sharon commented: "I hope

somebody will leak your remark." Hillel did not get Sharon's approval, however, when he said that the government has got entangled in a very complicated situation in West Beirut.

"There is no tangle at all," Sharon replied. "We are on top of the situation."

## SUMMER PROGRAMME

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For funeral arrangements and observance of shiva, please call Gershon and Leila Marinbach on Sunday, Tel. 052-25053 or 052-28196.

## Prof. ISAAC CHESAR MICHAELSON

the unveiling of the tombstone will take place on Sunday, July 18, 1982 at Har Hamenuhot, Givat Shaul, Jerusalem.

We shall meet at the main gate at 3.45 p.m. Our thanks for all the condolences expressed to us verbally and in writing.

The Family

## BESSIE GOTSFELD

founder of our organization

on the 20th yahrzeit, Sunday, July 18, 1982, at 1.00 p.m. at the Motza Children's Home, 8 Alkalai, Jerusalem.

The Board of Trustees, family and friends are invited. Rabbi Aaron Batt will give a memorial lesson on: Mothers in the Bible.

Dr. Maxine R. Miller  
Chairman, Israel Executive Committee

Roselle Silberstein  
National President

## MOSHE WOLFF

Office of Public Relations

a wonderful human being and friend.

## GIDEON (GREG) BERRY

we will hold a memorial service in his memory at the kibbutz. At 3.30 p.m. tombstone-unveiling, and at 8.30 p.m. a memorial meeting at the Moadon Hebever.

Kibbutz Gazi

שכנאמן אל אצל



## Prices shot up in June

Post Economic Reporter

The consumer price index for June rose by 6 per cent — the highest June increase since the establishment of the state. This brings the annual rate of inflation to 125 per cent.

Inflation in June was more than double last year's 2.7 per cent, and significantly above the 4.6 per cent rise in 1980. As a result, inflation in the first half of 1982 reached 50 per cent, compared with 40 per cent in the same period last year.

Most of the acceleration was the result of government-initiated price increases. Subsidies on basic goods and products were reduced, with the result that food prices rose by 8.7 per cent and household costs (mainly fuel and electricity) rose by 6.1 per cent.

Last month's price rises were not significantly mitigated by the seasonal decline in the price of fruit and vegetables. Although, on the basis of past performance, fruit and vegetable prices should have dropped by about 10 per cent, they

declined by only 1 per cent.

The increase in value added tax, effective from June 14, had only a slight influence on the June inflation rate.

For the second consecutive month, wholesale prices of industrial products rose faster than the consumer price index. The rise in June was 8.6 per cent — and 55 per cent since the beginning of the year.

Inflation will accelerate further in July, according to economic analysts. The government-initiated price increases for food products, fuel, electricity, water, public transportation and cigarettes, and the increase in VAT, already amount to an estimated 2.5 per cent increase in prices.

In addition, the July index will include the effect of the cost-of-living allowance for the last quarter, which will contribute another 2 per cent. The price increase now predicted for July is about 8-9 per cent, although the war in Lebanon has had a mitigating effect by restraining consumer demand.

## Plan for income tax on child allowance revived

Jerusalem Post Economic Reporter

The Treasury wishes to subject child allowances for the first two children to income tax, like any other income. This is a long-standing plan of the Treasury, which has now been revived because of the need to finance Operation Peace for Galilee.

The Histadrut, rejecting the plan, is demanding that child allowances be updated and adjusted for erosion as a result of price inflation.

The joint Histadrut-government employers' committee on taxes set up within the framework of the so-called "package deal" negotiations, has been presented with Treasury proposals for the imposition of a 1 per cent turnover tax, and a progressive increase in income taxes.

The Histadrut representatives on the committee rejected these proposals, and suggested instead the reinstatement of recently abolished taxes, such as property tax on second or third flats owned but not lived in by the owner. They also suggested that property taxes be imposed on villas in prestige areas, and that a surtax on income taxes be imposed on incomes exceeding IS30,000 a month.

The Treasury also wishes real wages to be based on the average of 1980-81, with an annual adjustment, and a deduction of 3 per cent, as demanded by Finance Minister Yoram Aridor. The Histadrut opposes this method of calculating the wage base, and argues that it will mean a reduction of real wages by 7-9 per cent.

## Police seize 40 grams of heroin, alleged pusher

HOLON. — Detectives have seized

about 40 grams of heroin and arrested a 25-year-old suspected pusher, in the Tel Gibborim neighbourhood, a police spokesman said yesterday.

The arrest, which followed a surveillance operation, came after the suspect sold three heroin bags to ad-

dicts for IS2,700, the spokesman said.

Narcotics-squad detectives found 41 one-gram heroin bags in the suspect's possession. The cache is worth about IS40,000.

Police are now trying to uncover the source of the heroin. The suspect will be brought to court today for remand.

## IRAN IRAQ BATTLE

(Continued from Page One)

Phantom jets were shot down in a dogfight with Iraqi jetfighters in the Basra sector. It said one person was killed and one wounded in an Iranian artillery attack on the eastern Iraqi border town of Khanagin.

One Iranian communiqué carried by the radio said Iraqi jets bombed "residential areas of Islamabad (formerly Shahabad) and Dehloran in the central sector of western Iran."

Iran had earlier said that a total of 46 civilians were killed and 500 wounded in Iraqi air strikes on Wednesday on the western Iranian cities of Khorramabad, Ilam and Bakhtaran (formerly Kermanshah).

Iranian troops stormed across the Iraqi border late on Tuesday night, crossing the disputed Shatt al-Arab waterway and establishing a beachhead near the southern Iraqi port city of Basra after completing a 20-kilometre thrust into Iraq.

Iraq said yesterday that its forces killed 3,729 Iranian troops in southern Iraq while Iran reported heavy civilian casualties in "savagely" Iraqi air attacks on its border towns, according to war reports from both sides.

An Iraqi military spokesman was

quoted by the Iraqi News Agency as saying that the figure was the total number of casualties incurred by the Iraqis in two days of fighting around Basra on Wednesday and Thursday.

The spokesman said the Iraqis lost 27 tanks and seven armoured personnel carriers in the latest round of fighting.

Iran has so far given no figure for its invasion, which began two days ago.

In Tunis, the Arab League urged the U.S. and the Soviet Union to help stop the Iran-Iraq war, calling Iran's invasion "a grave menace" to a League member, League sources said yesterday.

In Cairo, President Hosni Mubarak said yesterday that although Egypt condemns the Iraqi invasion, it is providing Baghdad with military assistance so that it may defend itself against the Iranian invasion.

At the UN, the Security Council

authorized its president yesterday to meet with representatives of Iran and Iraq to explore "all possible means" for ending the fighting between the two Persian Gulf oil producers. (AP, UPI, Reuters)



A man shakes a fist at the demonstrators in Tel Aviv protesting yesterday against the war in Lebanon. (Israel Sun)

## Israeli Arabs wish to see kin in Lebanon

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Many Israeli Arabs have applied to the Interior Ministry and other government offices for special permits to visit their relatives in Lebanon.

Some of the applicants, particularly from the north of Israel have informed the authorities that they are willing to adopt children or take in their relatives, at least temporarily.

The applicants, Moslems and Christians, say that they have no accurate information about the fate of their relatives, especially those who have been living in refugee camps in southern Lebanon.

So far, the Israeli authorities have not approved any requests, saying that roads to the refugee camps are still unsafe and that military action against terrorists hiding in South Lebanon continues.

## TV staff called up in insurance dispute

By JUDY SIEGEL

Jerusalem Post Reporter

About a dozen Israeli TV cameramen and technicians have been called up to reserve duty in Lebanon, after refusing to work as civilians in the war zone without what they consider adequate life and medical insurance.

As a result of the sanctions, there have been no filmed reports from the north this week, and a regular

Mabat broadcast will replace tonight's weekly news magazine.

TV director Tuvia Sa'ar said yesterday that TV cameramen and technicians working as soldiers in Lebanon are well protected in case of injury or death. But they lose the overtime benefits they would have received as civilians. He advocated increasing the insurance coverage of staffers sent to the front as civilians.

## DIPLOMATS PAY

(Continued from Page One)

working day and night, here, abroad and in Lebanon" to counter the tide of hostile media reporting on the war.

"As soon as the situation eases, the staff committee will call a general meeting — and is confident of unanimity in support of industrial action."

Suffot said the men (and women) at the ministry are seeking similar conditions to those enjoyed by other civil servants doing similar work.

At present, he said, Foreign Ministry pay is not only incomparably less than in the Defence Ministry, it even lags behind the less 'prestigious' ministries. "An official in the Education Ministry 'three grades lower than I am on the civil service scale,' said Suffot, 'earns 30 per cent more than I do. Why? Because they have a system of norms and premiums. Other civil servants can earn 50 hours or more overtime, but here many officials are limited to a much lower ceiling — even though in practice they often put in many more hours.'

Suffot stressed that the committee is not seeking a raise in pay for diplomats serving abroad "even though they earn less than diplomats from any other country. There was a report that Indians earn less. We checked: they don't."

He acknowledged that in spite of their modest remuneration relative to other foreign services, Israeli diplomats have a higher standard of living while abroad than they, and other civil servants, do at home. "Luckily for us there's an inter-departmental committee that sets overseas salaries: the Defence Ministry and other departments look after their people — and we benefit vicariously."

But Suffot and other veteran foreign service officers flatly deny the widespread belief that Israeli diplomats can save very much while they are serving abroad. "Perhaps a few hundred dollars a year — which goes quickly enough once you get back to Jerusalem and have to live on IS10,000 a month take-home pay."

One common gripe in the foreign service is that wives cannot hold down pension rights on jobs in Israel, because they must periodically cease working when their husbands are posted abroad. Abroad, moreover, diplomats' spouses are strongly discouraged from working; many of them are in effect unpaid volunteers at the embassies, helping their husbands in contacts with the Jewish and general communities.

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## Begin to star at pro-government TA rally

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Prime Minister Menachem Begin is to address a pro-government rally in Kikar Malchei Yisrael here tomorrow night. Mayor Shlomo Lahat told a press conference yesterday.

Lahat, who will be master of ceremonies, said that Defence Minister Ariel Sharon was also invited to speak, but has not yet replied. Other speakers are to be Interior and Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg, Ma'alot council chairman Shlomo Bahbout and Lahat himself. Guests on the stage will include ministers, Knesset Members, Tel Aviv municipal council members, Nahariya Mayor Efraim Sharir, Tel Aviv Sephardi

Chief Rabbi Ya'acov Levy, Soldiers Welfare Association chairman Natan Nir and others.

Previous demonstrations and events, Lahat said, have shown that there is opposition to Operation Peace for Galilee, "so as a citizen, mayor and Jew, I decided to show that there is also support for it."

"On my visits to Lebanon," he continued, "I was impressed that the majority of soldiers are in favour of the operation. But marginal groups which oppose it manage to make more noise." He noted that the organizing committee will not finance buses to bring people to the assembly from out of town.

All public and private traffic will be banned from the streets sur-

rounding Kikar Malchei Yisrael from 6 p.m. tomorrow, and large police and Border Police contingents will maintain order, a police spokesman told *The Jerusalem Post*.

In addition to closing Rehov Ibn Gabirol, Sderot Hen and Rehov Frishman, which border the square, police will close off Rehov Weizmann from Rehov Arlosoroff to Sderot Sha'ul Hamelech, Arlosoroff from Weizmann to Shlomo Hamelech and Sha'ul Hamelech from Weizmann to Shlomo Hamelech.

Armed reserve soldiers or civilians will not be allowed to attend the assembly, and plainclothes policemen will mingle in the crowd, the police spokesman said.

## No evidence found that Mapam distributed anti-war paper

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Acting Attorney-General Meir Gabai said yesterday that there is no evidence to show that Mapam or any other body actively distributed Mapam's anti-war circular among soldiers in Lebanon.

Excerpts from the circular, "Opinion Paper Number 1," were quoted by Prime Minister

Menachem Begin at Sunday's cabinet meeting. Copies of the leaflet were sent to Begin and Likud Knesset Members by soldiers who alleged that they were given the leaflet while serving in Lebanon.

Gabai held meetings with State Attorney Yona Blatman and a team of advisers in the Justice Ministry to see whether the evidence in their

hands justified prosecuting under the 1977 Penal Law and the 1955 Military Code of Justice.

Mapam greeted the decision with satisfaction. But a Mapam spokesman said that the party considers the prime minister guilty of "deliberate incitement" against it by publishing "selective passages" from the document in question.

## Ha'olam Hazeq gets 2nd false bomb threat

By JEFFREY HELLER

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — *Ha'olam Hazeq*, the weekly magazine edited by Sheli party leader Uri Avnery, received its second bomb threat in as many weeks over the phone yesterday. Police who rushed to the scene found no explosives, however.

A spokesman for the magazine said that the caller — "an old man from the sound of his voice" — warned that the bomb would explode at 3 p.m. yesterday.

The spokesman said that the caller hurled "epithets and curses" at the secretary who took the call, and hung up after she told him the call was being recorded.

The previous bomb threat came on the day Avnery returned to Israel after interviewing PLO chief Yasser Arafat in Beirut on July 3, the spokesman said.

The interview was published in last week's issue of the magazine.

## Police ombudsman answers 600 appeals

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The police and prisons service ombudsman received 531 complaints in the year ending April 30, 1982. Six-hundred complaints were answered, including 53 received last year, the ombudsman's report states.

Ombudsman Ze'ev Margalit yesterday submitted his office's annual report to the minister of interior and the Knesset Interior Affairs Committee.

Of the complaints coming from police, 57 per cent were found justified and were settled, compared to 43 per cent of warders' complaints. The largest single group of complaints (29 per cent) dealt with pay and professional classification for wage purposes. While 15 per cent of the warders' complaints dealt with pay, 20 per cent dealt with service conditions and procedures.

Employees of other Israeli government agencies serving abroad — even though they are less exposed to terror attacks than diplomats — enjoy considerably higher insurance cover.

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Munich	Sat.	8.00 a.m.	Arkia	From 333
Frankfurt	Thur.	4.20 p.m.	Arkia	From 333
Innsbruck	By our Munich flights.			
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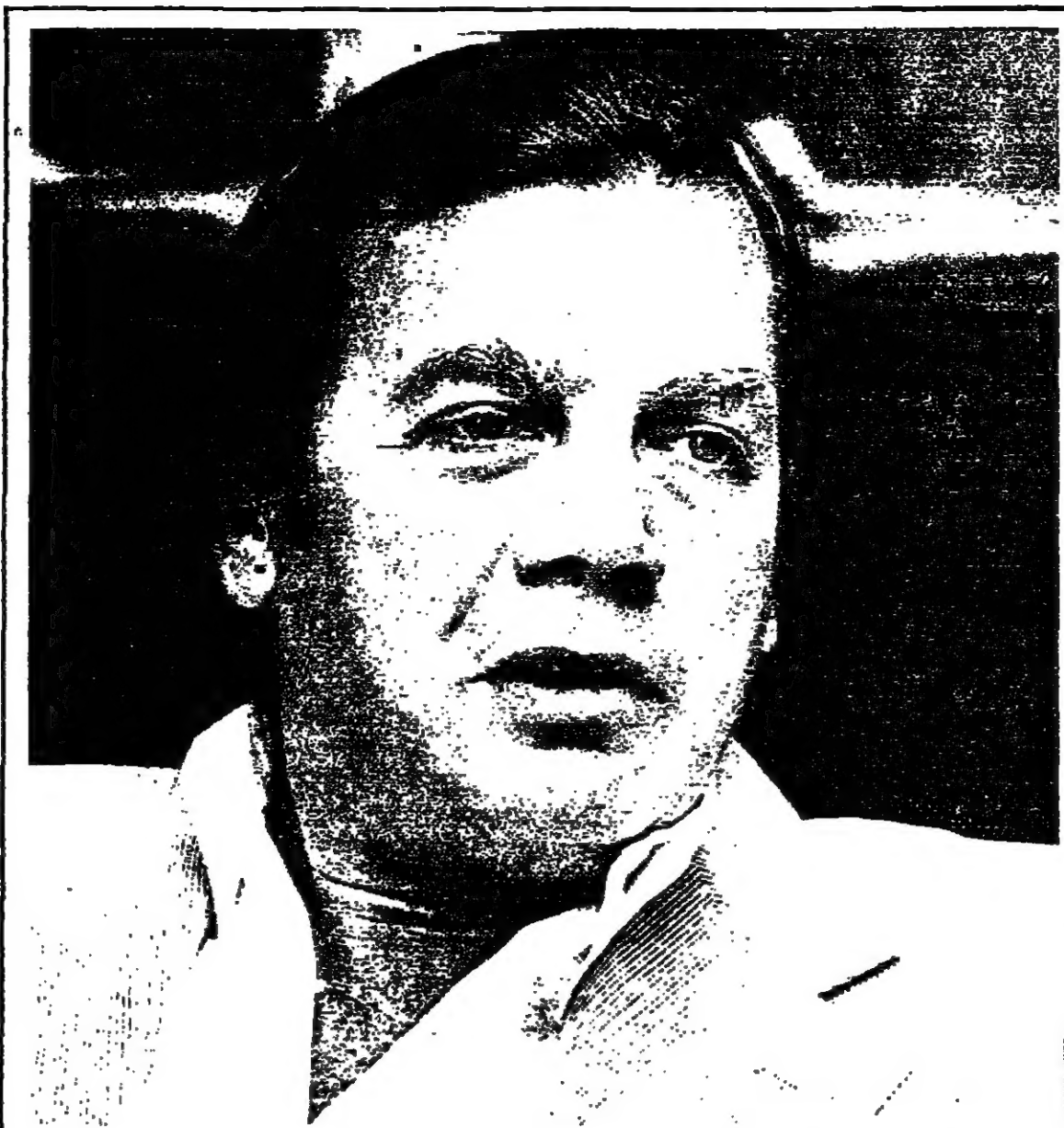






# DEEPENING THE TIES

By MARK SEGAL / Post Political Correspondent



*I do not regard myself as an alternative foreign minister of Israel*

ONE side-product of Operation Peace for Galilee has been the long-awaited public break between the World Jewish Congress, under the presidency of Edgar Bronfman, and life president, Dr. Nahum Goldmann and immediate past president Philip Klutznick.

The formal disavowal by the WJC Executive at its meeting in Paris last week of the joint statement issued earlier on by Goldmann, Klutznick and Pierre Mendes-France, criticizing Israel over the campaign in Lebanon and giving comfort to the beleaguered PLO, represented a turning point in the WJC's history. It demonstrated that the new WJC has decided to disengage itself from a half-century of Jewish political feuds and the institutionalized broils which characterized the Goldmann leadership.

Since Bronfman has taken over, he has changed not only the WJC style but its organizational structure, hauling it finally into the realities of post-World War II Jewry. He has removed its headquarters to New York, downgrading the expensive Geneva operation which had survived as a personal convenience for Goldmann, who lives in Paris.

Bronfman has set up the kind of efficiently run American organization to which he is accustomed in his business world, and put the highly capable Israel Singer in charge as WJC executive director.

He has at his disposal some of the most qualified people in Israel to provide expert advice, such as former ambassador to the U.S. Ephraim Evron, and Shlomo Rabinovich.

"I DO NOT regard myself as an alternative foreign minister of Israel," the WJC president emphasized in an interview in Jerusalem this week. He flew to Israel to hold the third day of the Congress Executive sessions in Jerusalem (the first two days of meetings were held in Paris), in response to WZO chairman Arye Dulin's plea to convene in the capital of the Jewish State.

This solidarity with Israel was registered during the Paris meeting (the resolution was published in the local press this week) in strong terms that marked another break from the Goldmann era.

Bronfman heard the BBC had singled out "the president of the World Jewish Congress's call to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people," omitting to add that he had specifically stated "as agreed upon by Premier Begin in the Camp David agreements."

Thus it was no wonder that the head of the WJC was so warmly received by the prime minister on Tuesday afternoon at his Jerusalem Kirya office, if only because of his strongly supportive stand for Israel

at this juncture. However, it is doubtful whether they saw eye to eye on other matters.

While details of their conversation were not published, Bronfman probably elaborated on the idea he reportedly articulated during his address at last week's WJC meeting: "We have a duty to ask our Israeli brethren not what can we do for Israel, but what can Israel do to help us help Israel."

While he would not go so far as to say that Israel's position in the world has totally eroded, it does enjoy much less support than in the past — mainly because this was the first time Israel was seen to have launched an offensive war, he explained. "Like most Jews, I understand what the terrorist threat from South Lebanon represented for Israel. But others do not."

The attempted assassination of Israel's ambassador to London, the bombing of Beirut the shelling of northern Israel and the subsequent invasion of Lebanon by Israel were perceived by many as a sequence of events for which Israel had been waiting.

THE PRIME difficulty in presenting Israel's case was that it was the first time that a war involving Israel was screened nightly on millions of TV sets.

"War is ugly, and one can make superb speeches about how humane an army Israel has, and report on how warm a welcome South Lebanese villagers extended to Israeli soldiers, but this cannot counter the effect of what people see on television, especially in the U.S., particularly the scenes involving maimed children," said Bronfman. "I don't think the media have been fair; nor did they attempt to present a balanced picture. It's my guess that if any positive pictures were received at the TV studios, they were cut out by the editors. The only thing sophisticated people could do was to switch channels," he declared.

Bronfman maintained that the difficulty was that people tended to expect more from Israel than from other countries, for instance Syria, and certainly more than from the PLO. However, he did not think that it was any good arguing on the basis of the forgotten atrocities of the 1976 civil war in Lebanon. "Two wrongs don't make one right, and justification of a particular line of action cannot be based on such past acts," he contended.

As for Jewish support of Israel at present, the president of the WJC differentiated between the organizational expression of support, which remained consistently solid, and "lots of cracks aired in private by Jews about Israel." He thought the latter was an outcome of the poor presentation of this country's case by the authorities. Once the army had moved beyond

the original target of 40 kilometres, the onward rush to Beirut was not properly explained to the outside world, including the Jewish public, "so that for many it looked as if it had been an excuse."

However, Bronfman expressed the hope that with more information reaching the broad public, there would be second thoughts and

greater understanding of Israel and its actions in Lebanon. He is known to be apprehensive about the long-term effects of such criticism among influential American Jewish intellectuals, and would like to deepen the consultative relationship between Israel and its most devoted allies, the Diaspora communities. AN OPTIMISTIC note entered his

voice as he spoke of the good likely to emerge from the present situation. Hopefully, a stable government would emerge in Lebanon, "although historically the word stability never applied to Lebanon." All foreign troops would have to leave that country and perhaps there would be peace with Israel. He expected that as a result of the

war, Israel would finally have to face the Palestinian problem. Now that the military back of the PLO had been broken, Bronfman was "guardedly optimistic" that moderates in the West Bank and Gaza would come forward to negotiate with Israel, even without Egyptian intercession.

Having said in the past that there was time for a change of line in dealing with the West Bank and Gaza, Bronfman told me he thought the time was now ripe for Israel to "do some things" to demonstrate to the inhabitants of the territories that it could be forthcoming.

Asked to give details, he said guardedly: "Not big things, rather something like opening universities."

Did he mean Birzeit? Bronfman skirted this minefield gingerly, saying: "We who come from the outside can hardly give advice on details."

Hardly the kind of statement one would have heard from Dr. Goldmann, I thought.

EDGAR BRONFMAN was much more pleasant than his aloof tycoon and jet-set image had led me to expect. He is the boss of Seagrams and the main shareholder (20 per cent) of Dupont de Nemours (and thus of Conoco Oil), and unlike so many rich Americans, has an air of relaxed, understated elegance.

I thought it only fitting that he was in the Jerusalem Hilton's Royal Suite. He has something of a court moving with him around the globe, some retainers from Seagrams and others from his Jewish world, with Israel Singer as his learned counselor.

"It's so convenient that Seagrams has branches all over the world," he said. "I can combine my business with that of the Congress. Having my own plane does help too."

Six weeks ago, he managed, after holding a WJC meeting in Vienna and a Seagrams Europe conference in Munich, to travel to Bonn to meet West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. "He is a wise and caring man, and a sincere friend of Israel and the Jewish people," Bronfman declared, adding that after they discussed incipient anti-Semitism in Germany, Schmidt ordered his Justice Ministry to set up a liaison office with WJC secretary-general Gerhart Riegner.

Bronfman devoted over an hour to the complexities of Soviet Jewish rights. The West German leader had perceived the problem within the context of Soviet relations with the Arab world, while Bronfman and his aides endeavored to explain how the Soviet Union would benefit from getting rid of its Jewish problem.

"Schmidt promised to tell Brezhnev not to deal with the superpower over the problem of Soviet Jewry, but with the WJC," he

reported triumphantly. Bronfman explained that his whole thrust in talking to official Soviet spokesmen, like Ambassador Dobrynin in Washington, was that "Jews should be seen to be useful as part of détente, and not as part of any cold war."

Israel Singer, I learned, went to Moscow earlier this year on an official invitation, but he preferred not to divulge the contents of his talks there.

Would the new president of the WJC be going to Moscow, I wondered? Bronfman said such a visit was not on the cards right now; but before he agreed to go, there were a number of preconditions that would have to be met.

THE WJC Executive meeting in Paris had considered the question of holding a third Brussels conference on Soviet Jewry, but doubts had been expressed. They would shortly convene together with the other two sponsoring bodies — the WZO and B'nai B'rith — to decide on the venue.

Bronfman's approach in this matter, too, was strikingly different from that of Goldmann, who boycotted the first Brussels conference. Bronfman stated: "I don't say, 'If you don't do as I say, I won't come.'"

The projected date of October 24 was not ideal, Bronfman said, because it coincided with the U.S. congressional elections and would result in the problems of Soviet Jewry being given little exposure in the American media.

Since Bronfman took over, the WJC's standing has been enhanced. He was invited to participate in the U.N. meeting on disarmament, an honour hitherto not extended to a WJC leader. He had been gratified to note the shock among the Arab delegates when he said, at the conclusion of his written speech, that "to compare Zionism to racism is an absolute abomination."

Asked about George Shultz's appointment as secretary of state, Bronfman said that it would be self-defeating for Israel to prejudice Shultz because of his past business connections. "He's a good man, I know lots of people who know him well and think very highly of him. It would be a grievous error to repel him rather than encourage him before he even takes office," Bronfman declared vigorously. He was gratified that Premier Begin had also taken this position in the cabinet. In general, he saw no wavering of America's perception of Israel as a dependable ally and the only true democracy in the Middle East.

However, he concluded, with a warning: "The destruction of West Beirut would not get a favourable reception in Washington, and I don't think it is favoured here either."

## Dialogue with the Diaspora

By JULIAN LANDAU / Special to The Jerusalem Post

"ISRAEL IS a value; the Diaspora is merely a fact." Pithy statements such as this one, by Prof. Shlomo Avineri, former director-general of the Foreign Ministry were frequently voiced during the two-day, 18th annual America-Israel Dialogue, which concluded on Wednesday.

Though it was cut short by the Lebanese crisis, with most of the participants going north, the conference managed to touch on almost all the major issues facing Israel and Diaspora Jewry today.

The American and Israeli delegations analysed, discussed, and frequently disagreed on such subjects as the meaning of the Diaspora; the place of the Jewish State in the current configuration of world Jewry; the problem of Soviet Jewry and how to deal with it; the plight of the Argentinian community and of the Falashas; the setting of policy for aiding oppressed Jewish communities; the relationship between Diaspora Jews, particularly those in America, and Israel; and the limit, if any, to voicing dissent on Israeli policy.

While the specific topic of the dialogue, organized by the American Jewish Congress, was "Jewish Communities in Distress,"

Who Speaks on Their Behalf?" the current situation in Israel could not be avoided, and mainly expressed in the subject of dissent.

Rita Hauser, former U.S. representative to the UN Commission on Human Rights insisted there can be no limit to the right of any Jew to criticize Israel and voice dissent, on all issues, including that of security, and even in time of war. Not only does dissent clarify the essential issues, she said, but it should be like a family discussion, where nothing is barred.

MK Abba Eban agreed completely, stating that sceptical pragmatism was an integral part of Jewishness. "You can't stop dissent anyway," he said, "so why not listen to it." Eban, insisting that dissent and diversity are the glory of democracy, voiced concerns over the state of democracy in Israel today when legislation is proposed to ban demonstrations.

On the other hand, both Simcha Dinitz, former ambas-

sador to the U.S., and Avineri maintained that the national priorities of Israel, including questions concerning the nation's security, are set by the government and the people of Israel, not by those who do not live here, and do not pay the price of blood and life. Public dissent on certain issues, at certain times of crisis, merely gives the impression of disunity and division.

BETWEEN THESE two polarities, were most of the participants, who seemed to believe that while dissent was legitimate, it was generally more effective when expressed privately and limited by self-restraint, where the issue was vital to Israel's security.

The participants similarly disagreed about the relative roles of Israel and Diaspora Jewry in speaking for and making decisions about Soviet Jewry and other oppressed communities. Avineri claimed that since Israel, and only Israel, was a part of the Hegelian "public sphere," it alone had true representation, accountability and political power. Therefore, it alone should have the "burden" of decision-making.

Avineri was supported by Yehuda Lapidot, advisor to the prime minister on Soviet Jewry, who argued that Israel must be the one to organize the campaign on behalf of Soviet Jewry, and Minister-Without-Portfolio Yitzhak Moda'i insisted that Israel is best-equipped to coordinate policy and direct its implementation.

The American participants were less than happy with both the analysis and the conclusion. Henry Siegman, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, said that the concept of *Klal Yisrael* made Diaspora Jewry more responsive to certain problems than Israel. Howard Squadron, president of the AJC, argued that American Jewish organizations were representative and responsible, often more responsible than some Israelis.

Agreeing to disagree, the dialogue participants found refuge in the word "consultation." Even those taking extreme positions regarding the decision-making process called for consultations between Israel and American Jewry before decisions are taken, especially if Israel expects the Jews of the U.S. to attempt to influence the U.S. Government.

In other presentations Nathan Lerner, the Israel director of the World Jewish Congress, stated that a Jewish community aiding or speaking for another community should only do so with the latter's

approval, or at its request. Local leadership can only be challenged if it is fraudulent and unrepresentative, treasonous and incompetent to deal with the situation. Rita Hauser called for the revival of the

doctrine of humanitarian intervention, used by the Great Powers in the 19th century to protect their nationals in the Ottoman Empire.

Rabbi Wolfe Kellman of the Rabbinical Assembly of America was disturbed by the fact that Jews thrive under authoritarian regimes and suffer under regimes actively promoting social reform, while

most American Jews sympathize with the latter and oppose the former. Prof. Irwin Cotler, president of the Canadian Jewish Congress, wanted Jews to place greater emphasis on the general struggle for human rights in Russia and other countries.

Summing up the two and a half days of meetings and debates, one can say that few problems were solved, but many were aired, leading perhaps to a better understanding among leaders of the two largest and most powerful Jewish communities in the world.

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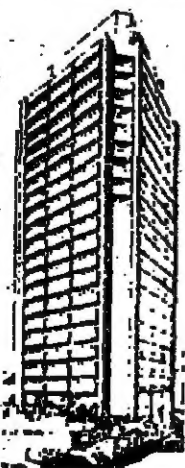
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## CONSENT AND WAR

By ERWIN FRENKEL



True, from the beginning Mr. Begin had a difficulty. When he was in opposition he had, for the most part, confidence in the strategic judgment of Labour leaders. And by outlook he was predisposed to sanction the use of force. Labour, in opposition, does not grant the prime minister comparable leeway. It questions his, and especially his defence minister's, judgment, and is more wary about the resort to arms. That is a political fact — whether just or not. A prime minister intent on achieving broad domestic agreement for his action should have taken it into account. But a more important cause of the criticism that has erupted is the duration of the war. It has lasted longer, and, therefore, involved more actual and possible sacrifice, than the consent that was available for it. At play here is not only the drawn-out negotiations over PLO withdrawal from West Beirut and the continuing prospects for more war. Rather, the fighting phase of the war itself unfolded in stages, each of which confounded Israelis. The government surprised its own people, and not only the enemy, by what appeared at each point as a deliberate extension of the war. Consent for one stage of war did not easily endure for the next. It was as if the very design of the military campaign violated the rules of how domestic consent is created and sustained.

None of these assumptions was fulfilled. The *milva* became a war. The Syrians were in fact engaged. The Christians did not take over in Beirut — and to assure the army's positions there, the Syrians were further engaged in costly battles in the hills south and east of Beirut. Some of those battles, coming after the cease-fire of June 11, were fought without air and artillery support. This kept their profile low, but increased casualties.

Intrinsic to the very nature of the campaign, therefore, was the absence of consent that would endure for all its stages. To what degree the Cabinet and perhaps even the war planners were victims or authors of this sequence of events, remains unclear. But what can be said is that those who conceived, designed and managed the war have little right to decry the domestic discontent they built into it.

It is, of course, a tribute to the army that none of this affected discipline. It is no less a tribute that some tactical missions were dropped after officers protested against their likely cost.

It would be well for those who decry the public criticism to remember that those two virtues are interlinked, especially in a people's army like the IDF. Discipline in such an army is a function of care for human life, and that care is a function of the freedom of an open society.

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be a sure guide. The absence of internal criticism has led to disaster in war for closed societies; the power of criticism has played into enemy hands in open societies.

There can only be a practical answer in a democracy — namely, that a war's purposes must from the outset enjoy broad popular consent, and the management of the war must sustain that consent for the time needed. In other words, the less the agreement about purpose and the longer the time needed for execution, the greater the dissent.

THIS IS a first rule of democratic politics. It prevented President Roosevelt from entering World War II until the U.S. itself was attacked, it prevented Lyndon Johnson from achieving American aims in Vietnam.

Moreover, such consent must be actively nourished. The political opposition must be brought into its web, and parliamentary institutions of assent must be assiduously courted and consulted.

It is rather disingenuous, therefore, for Mr. Begin and Mr. Sharon to deplore dissent after holding the opposition at arm's length and ignoring the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee.

A QUESTION being asked of Israel is whether the war in Lebanon is a just one.

Israelis are asking themselves whether it is a necessary war, and returning reserve officers are querying whether it was sensibly conceived and sensibly managed.

These questions should be held distinct. Whether a war is just is a facile query of third parties. Those who feel no threat. It reflects either the luxury or the bias of the safely distant.

Debate in Israel would best eschew this question. For to find the precise moral coordinate for different degrees of real or perceived threat, is a futile task, especially for a nation that has known only threat. Therefore, those who engage in this argument, whether in criticism or defence of the government, are locked in a demagogic embrace.

The more real questions are whether the war as conceived was wise and whether it was managed prudently with regard to human life and efficiently with regard to aims.

Here final conclusions cannot yet be drawn. The verdict must await the final result. Yet because the war drags on, this presents a dilemma. The critics argue that their criticism is necessary to prevent additional mistakes, further sacrifice of lives; the government contends that the criticism itself can frustrate a favourable outcome.

Both arguments are valid. There is no objective answer for this dilemma. Even experience cannot

FROM THE first signs of discontent over the war in Lebanon which appeared shortly after the operation was launched, an attempt was made to derail the crucial discussion of what kind of war the IDF should fight and to shift attention to the boundaries of legitimate dispute in Israel.

The reasons for this are complex, but the implications are clear. If the boundaries of legitimate dispute are drawn close to the centre, then those who criticize are not only out of step with the loyal majority, they are also out of bounds, and located somewhere in the area reserved for lepers and people with other disgusting diseases.

Their arguments need not be contended with; instead, because of their disease, they must be kept at a distance. Setting boundaries for legitimate dispute is a transparent device used by a regime in order to obliterate criticism.

The contention that there are boundaries to legitimate dispute is very powerful in Israeli society. Its roots reach into places in the national psyche that are much older than the principles of liberal Western democracy.

In "hot" desert days, dissenters, it may be recalled, often found themselves dead.

During these last few weeks, the loud and clear sound of the Alignment's opposition voice has not been heard, not only because of in-

ternal divisions between wings within the party, but also because of respect for traditional boundaries.

Interviewed in *Davar* on July 9, Haim Bar-Lev, secretary-general of the Labour Party, insisted that until the campaign is over and most of the soldiers have returned from Lebanon, the time is not propitious for a public discussion of what happened.

THE CURRENT prominence accorded the notion that there are time and issue boundaries to legitimate dispute — which is another form of obedience to the country's recently much touted consensus — reveals a basic incompatibility between Israeli democracy and certain democratic values. It is also dangerously diversionary.

Amid the jumble of confused emotions raised by the war, a shift is taking place in the national response to the question: Into what kind of war should the IDF be thrown? For what ends can we in good conscience ask our fighting men to be prepared to lay down their lives?

The focus on legitimate and illegitimate, or on timely and untimely

ly discussion draws attention away from that shift.

Once it is presumed that there are boundaries to legitimate dispute, by implication there are also disputes that are not legitimate. To raise certain issues then becomes akin to poisoning wells or to a stab in the back. To raise those issues is treacherous, dishonourable, indecent, unfair or merits some other derogatory denotation, depending on the values of the derogator.

To merit such disapprobation anyone who voices untimely or unwelcome criticism appears to have violated something very precious, something obviously more precious than the right to free dispute.

BUT THE right to dispute is the right to think independently and to express one's thoughts. Even more precious than that right, which is at the very foundation of democracy, is yet another, even more profound right — survival itself. More specifically, collective survival.

When the collective's survival is at stake, ideally ranks are closed.

By ARNOLD SCHWARTZ

All draw towards the centre, helping hands are extended, cooperation replaces the egoistic pursuit of advantage, and dimension is confined to tactical matters.

Clearly, when the collective's survival is threatened, so too, is that of the individual within the collective. When the collective's survival is truly in doubt, there is little time for dissent and no patience for it. There's also very little surplus psychic energy around to formulate it. (There certainly aren't 50,000-100,000 demonstrators.)

SURVIVAL IS a supreme value. Even the Sabbath is violated for the sake of survival. It is a focal point effusing sacrality, and endowing what is near it, what contributes to it, with the light of its halo.

The IDF, for example, holds a sacred place in Israeli society not because of its efficiency or because it is the embodiment of values finer or loftier than those found elsewhere in our society. It is held in such high esteem because of its never-failing contribution to our survival. It is the instrument of our survival and has never let us down.

up against Israel at the UN, the training of so much attention on our every blunder, the ugly anti-Semitism unleashed in so many places, the mystery of the world's incessant preoccupation with us. And then, of course, there are the events of our history.

STILL in times of relative peace, a good part of the population is not truly convinced that our survival is constantly on the line, and resists the muzzling of dissent. Wartime is another matter. The attempt to sacralize solidarity and morale is never so necessary and never so successful as when the cannons are smoking and soldiers are in danger. It is especially necessary then because dissent concerning the necessity of a war exposes the death of the fallen to meaninglessness. And that is intolerable.

It is more than most of those who must live with "those deaths" can bear.

For meaninglessness to be avoided, not only must dissent be silenced, it must also be shown that our survival was in fact at stake and that the war was necessary to remove the danger that had been looming over us.

This is done by the depiction of the enemy as the embodiment of evil, rapacious among his own people, planning even worse for us, and stockpiling weapons to carry out his wicked intentions.

That depiction of the enemy serves the society's need to regard the war as necessary. It helps give meaning to the deaths and pain and maiming incurred.

By suggesting that we were in fact in mortal danger, that pitted against us were forces of evil, it helps the government to promote solidarity and delegitimize dissent.

Serving many and powerful

needs, the depiction could have been expected to emerge even if there was little evidence for it in the field — even, perhaps, if it wasn't true. The field, however, abounds in confirmation of it.

What vast stores of weapons we discovered, what horrible stories of cruelty and abuse we heard from the local population. With what relief and adulation have they welcomed us. Nevertheless, it is a depiction, and like all depictions, it is only partly true.

IN A SENSE, it is not even important whether or not it is accurate. However evil the enemy may be, his nature is of little consequence if he is not in a position to carry out his schemes. One cannot help wondering whether the PLO, with the smallest of Arab armies, could have actually launched a war against us now or in the foreseeable future.

Still, it is the factual nature, the seeming accuracy of the depiction of the PLO in Lebanon as an evil trespasser, marauder and murderer that makes it so powerful a device.

Appearing to be true, it is able to meet profound needs (although it appears to be true in part because it meets powerful needs).

The depiction is enlisted to justify the war. It wards off the possible meaninglessness of so much spilled blood. It assists those who would set boundaries to legitimate disputes. It stifles disquieting questions. It diverts attention from all the questions which can and must be asked when our survival is not truly at stake.

Of them, the key questions today do not concern the boundaries of legitimate dispute, but what kind of wars should the IDF be used to fight. For what, as individuals in the service of the state, should we be prepared to lay down our lives? We must not allow attention to be drawn from those questions.

The author is a Jerusalem writer and translator.

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# David Krivine talks to two Israeli legal experts about the question of protest during a time of war



Haim Zadok: 'The only limiting factor is the danger of violence.'

## THE LIMITS OF DISSENT



Benjamin Akzin: 'Criticism at this moment is unforgivable'

WAS IT WRONG for opposition leader Shimon Peres to demand publicly that the Israeli army refrain from entering Beirut?

I addressed this question to Benjamin Akzin, emeritus professor of political science and constitutional law at the Hebrew University. The subject was freedom of speech and assembly in times of war, or more particularly during Israel's present war in Lebanon.

Surprisingly, Akzin had not heard of the Peres statement. But he was prepared to address himself to the question all the same. First, a disclaimer: Peres and Yitzhak Rabin have been, he considers, fair in their observations about the hostilities. "I am satisfied with their line. I only wish other elements in Israel's society were as careful in their phrasing and loyal to the national interest as they are."

Concerning Peres' warning against going into Beirut: "It depends how he said it. If he declared that it would be better on military and political grounds if we did not enter Beirut, I would see nothing wrong."

"If, on the other hand, his words could be interpreted to mean that we have no moral right to enter Beirut even should it become necessary in the course of military operations, I think a statement of that kind, publicly made, is wrong and damaging."

Suppose Peres genuinely believes that such an advance is contrary to the national interest?

"HE SHOULD convey his views to the government privately, in camera. It should not be made the subject of public debate while the forces are locked in combat."

Can that be taken to mean that once a war begins, the government can do as it pleases, without public protest?

"I'M NOT saying my country right or wrong, I'm speaking of tactical rights and wrongs. The opposition was consulted about this war and agreed to it. Once a military operation begins on a basis of consensus, the government must be granted sufficient leeway to conduct it as needed."

At this point, Akzin protests that we got to talking about the war, not

about freedom of speech. I point out that we had to determine whether this was a good war or a bad war. He agrees that everything depended on that; if it is a bad war his argument falls to the ground.

"This controversy over the 40-km. limit is based on a misunderstanding," he affirms. "The official phrasing may have been incautious. Prime Minister Begin could have been taken to mean that the army would penetrate 40 kms. into Lebanon and no further." That, Akzin is sure, was not the intention. "We would have had a repetition of the dismal Litani Operation, when the army moved into Fatahland and not beyond. Result? The PLO reorganized just beyond the limit reached, and later infiltrated back south again."

This time the government wanted to strike at the root. "What it should have said is that as a result of the present military incursion, an area 40 kms. from the border shall henceforth be free of all armed threat. Few could take exception to that."

The professor's point is that this war is legitimate, it serves the national interest, it is a genuinely national war, it is within the bounds of the national consensus. The normal practice in all countries during such an emergency is to close ranks, show solidarity and refrain from hampering the military command or helping the enemy.

Still, there was public criticism in plenty of the Vietnam war among the American public, what about that?

"THE TWO CASES are different. The Vietnam episode was a colonial war in pursuit of distant strategic objectives — it was not fought to defend the safety of the United States. The same applied to the Boer War 80 years ago, and to the more recent French war in Algeria. "Look instead at the two world wars, where vital national interests were at stake. Was there any tolerance of public criticism in democratic countries like Britain or France — or even the U.S., which lay across the ocean?"

I RECALL that a cartoonist on Britain's *Daily Mirror* derided the British government for authorizing a rise in the profits of the oil com-

panies when brave British sailors, bringing oil to their country, were being torpedoed by German submarines. He was banned from publishing cartoons for the duration.

Akzin goes on: "Criticism made at this moment in the Israeli press are unforgivable. They make it more difficult to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. When *The Times* of London or *The Washington Post* censure Israel's advance, they are disliked for assisting the other side."

"When *Ha'aretz* or your paper, *The Jerusalem Post*, does the same, it becomes an exercise in freedom of expression."

Should press freedom be limited then by law in times of war?

"NO, I DO NOT advocate restrictive legislation. My plea is not for more powers to the government, it is for more understanding among the people. Some editorial boards — and not only they — ignore the realities of war and the obligations of decent patriotism."

What about the mass demonstration recently organized in Tel Aviv by the Peace Now Movement?

"I THINK many different views were represented and most participants had the best of intentions. But those responsible for slogans like 'Leave Lebanon' — not just leave Beirut — are directly aiding the enemy. This is morally objectionable and a criminal offence."

If that is so, why are they not prosecuted?

"WE HAVE got used to tolerating the most extreme eccentricities. Professor Israel Shahak besmirches Israel's good name in lectures abroad under the auspices of the PLO and gets away with it. Rabbi Moshe Hirsch, of Neturei Karta, with all his absurdities (inviting Hussein of Jordan to take over, etc.) is not taken to task. Anybody can slander or libel Israel with impunity."

But Shahak's contacts with the PLO were in times of peace.

"PEACE? We have been in combat with the Arabs since 1948. I don't accept the view that Israel has undergone five wars. A number of Arab states launched hostilities against us in 1948. Since then one of them has made peace, Egypt. The rest remain in conflict with Israel, as before."

Should Uri Avnery be prosecuted for his interview with PLO chief Arafat?

"IF YOU ask me as a lawyer, I have to say no. PLO leaders have been interviewed before by Matti Peled, Lova Elia and others, no one took exception to it. Avnery is at least a journalist, he seeks copy for his magazine."

"But from the moral point of view, that encounter was objectionable."

What about the proposal made by Herut politicians that Israeli TV be brought under direct government control?

"I'M NOT sure that such a drastic measure would be wise, even under the present circumstances. Nevertheless it is extraordinary that, in a time of active military operations, a monopolistic state-owned institution like the TV should feel free to report events in a manner which weakens people's confidence, both at home and abroad, in the justice of Israel's cause."

What is wrong with that? The BBC was accused by Mrs. Thatcher's government of doing the same during the Falkland Islands war.

"THE FALKLAND Islands war was, like the Vietnam and Boer wars, a distant expedition that had no connection with Britain's vital interests or physical survival. Can't you see the difference? Lebanon for Israel is not Madagascar, it is a nest of terrorists situated on our border."

"The people working in the Israel Broadcasting Authority have political opinions of their own, and have no compunction about giving

them expression through the channels that happen to be available.

"If newsmen do it in the press, which is non-monopolistic, their action is deplorable but legitimate. The public can choose which paper to buy. But when the country is confined to a single television channel which belongs to the state, that channel should not be used to denigrate the nation's war effort."

No country has ever tolerated such an abuse during a war of national survival — and the Peace-for-Galilee campaign is such a war, in Akzin's view.

HAIM ZADOK, former minister of justice and active today in the Labour Party's leadership, sits in his well-appointed lawyer's office in Tel Aviv. He has clear views about Avnery's meeting with Arafat.

"A motion for the agenda was tabled by a Knesset member while I was in office, querying whether the meetings of Israelis with the PLO in Paris and elsewhere were in breach of the law."

"I said that *prima facie* they were not illegal. As concerns Avnery's present meeting in Beirut, the subject is under active consideration by the Attorney-General and could be *sub judice* shortly, so I would rather not give an opinion on the legal aspect."

"On the public aspect, Avnery's action could have been understood perhaps if he had confronted Arafat and peppered him with hard journalistic questions, or spoken as what he claims to be, namely a representative of the Jewish national movement addressing a representative of the Palestinians."

"From what I read of the conversation between the two men, he did neither of those things. All that happened was an obsequious exchange of pleasantries."

"I myself would not have gone to such a meeting even if it was legal, but if Avnery went, he should at least have argued Israel's case. Without that the encounter was pointless and damaging."

On this topic Zadok seemed to be in broad agreement with Professor Akzin. But their ways soon parted.

What about the demonstration laid on by Peace Now?

"I SEE freedom of assembly as a basic human right and one of the manifestations of freedom of expression. The only limiting factor, in my view, is the danger that the gathering may cause violence."

"The political content of the proceedings does not matter, whether it is right-wing or left-wing. The police may examine only one thing, the possible danger to public order."

What about the effect of an anti-war demonstration on soldiers' morale?

"IF WE prevent public assemblies in order to preserve morale, those who wanted to demonstrate will find other — extra-legal — ways of expressing their views, including possibly violent ways."

"And where do you draw the line? You start with outlawing demonstrations, the next step is to prohibit critical articles in the press — and before long not only opinions are being censored but even the publication of facts, if they are unpalatable and it is thought they could harm morale."

Should people refrain in wartime from finding fault publicly with the government and its policies?

ZADOK always thinks before he answers. "The war is not a thousand miles away, the combatants are not career professionals. Our army is made up of citizens in uniform, men who read the paper and exchange ideas, like anyone on the home front."

"They are alive to political events and relish public debate. Suppressing popular demonstrations would damage our citizen-soldiers' morale more than the holding of the demonstration could do."

Freedom of expression is a way of ensuring that the truth is always made public, Zadok believes.

Nothing damages army morale more than discrepancies between official statements and what the soldier sees with his own eyes. "I don't say there are any such discrepancies but allegations have been voiced, and it is better to get these things out in the open."

"If there is public argument about the aims of the war, it cannot be repressed artificially, not in a free society like Israel. What should be done is to ensure that the meetings are conducted in an orderly and peaceful manner."

"The only reasonable limitation on freedom in wartime is the ban on revealing military secrets — information that might be of use to the enemy."

"But when it comes to talking out loud about political problems that people worry about, well — our army is not isolated, nor can it be insulated from outside influences, even if some of those influences were deemed by some to be subversive."

"Open debate has done no harm to-date. The discipline of the military in the field is not affected. On the contrary, freedom to say what one thinks and to hear what goes on has, I believe, strengthened self-confidence and loyalty in what is essentially a people's army."

But freedom of expression was curbed in Western democracies during the world wars.

"THAT DOESN'T MEAN Israel must do the same." Unlike Akzin, Zadok differentiates between the country's different conflicts. "This is our fifth war. Even those who approve of it cannot deny that all the former ones — with the possible exception of the Sinai campaign in 1956 — had been fought because Israel was in imminent jeopardy."

"The Lebanese campaign is not in that category. Its aim is to eliminate terrorist bases, but there

was no immediate threat to Israel's existence, as in the War of Independence and the Yom Kippur war."

"We did not need to curb freedom of speech in those wars, and we are proud of that. If it wasn't necessary then, why should it be necessary now?"

Could it be that public criticism of this war has encouraged Arafat to hold on, might he not have surrendered by now if the Israeli stand had been more monolithic?

"IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to answer such a question. All I can do is make an assumption. If Arafat is endowed with normal thinking capacities, he will discount the wide variety of opinions expressed, a phenomenon encountered in all democratic societies. He will concentrate on the likely policy of Israel's elected government."

"The free-speech issue is domestic, it does not affect the external scene, I believe. The army functions according to the decisions of the authorities, the enemy realizes that. Let me add that government policy may be affected by the attitude of the public, and it is good that it should be."

Was Peres justified in requiring that Israeli forces steer clear of the Lebanese capital?

AGAIN ZADOK weighs his words. "The idea that we should stay out of Beirut is a legitimate viewpoint, just as the idea that we should be free to pursue the enemy into Beirut is a legitimate viewpoint."

"Whether a public personality ought to give voice to his or his party's opinion on this issue at the present time falls within the realm of political judgment. It should not be subject to legal restriction."

Ought TV to be brought under government control?

"THE GOVERNMENT possesses indirect control already, it nominates the board and appoints the director-general."

"I consider the news has been balanced on the whole. I'm not sure the same can be said about the comments and interpretations. This must cause concern."

"But the government has not been inactive. The outstanding example is when that excellent military analyst Yeshayahu Gavish made one observation that deviated from the official line. He was not invited to broadcast again. In his place came Aharon Yariv who, whatever his personal opinions, cannot express anything other than the official view, because he is a mobilized reservist and appears in uniform."

Haim Zadok admits shortcomings.

"It is wrong that such a powerful medium as the TV should be limited to a single channel, there should be others. The radio has several. Even though they are all state-controlled, a spirit of competition reigns between them and you hear conflicting views, which is healthy."

"As to a take-over of TV by the government, such a decision is allowed under the Broadcasting Authority Law of 1965 only for 'compelling military reasons' or 'under the pressure of emergency conditions.' The last two wars, when Israel faced invasion, could be seen as emergencies. Would anybody say there is an emergency today?"

"Labour did not take over the TV in 1967 or 1973. Circles in the Likud want to do that now for the first time, though no real danger looms. This dichotomy reflects," Zadok concludes, "a difference between the two parties over the importance of free speech in Israel, rather than over the degree of emergency prevailing."

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# WRITING ON THE WALL

By WOLF BLITZER / Post Washington Correspondent



Charles Percy (Camera Press) Cyrus Vance (Camera Press)

*Unless action is taken quickly to reverse the hostile trend towards Israel, the situation could get out of control*

Christopher wrote the introduction. It was released before the recent fighting in Lebanon.

"The set of proposals outlined several years ago in a report by the Brookings Institution remains the most sensible," this new document

said. It continued:

"The fundamental obstacles to peace are Israel's refusal to move in the direction of a settlement of the Palestinian problem entailing self-determination for the Palestinians (indeed, the policies followed by

Israel Prime Minister Menachem (sic) Begin make impossible a settlement of the Palestinian issue acceptable to any (state), and America's failure to confront Israel except on marginal issues. If Israel showed a willingness to put an end to the

creeping annexation of the West Bank, and to accept the principle of self-determination for the Palestinians, then Arab intransigence, which has already been denied since Sadat's breakthrough, would probably recede further or be limited to eccentric states.

"In coming years, the U.S. will have to choose between a course which, if continued, will undermine the positions of moderate Arab governments, with which Washington has been cooperating; and a more energetic course which will severely strain the special relationship with Israel and the body politic in America."

IT CONCLUDED with this ominous warning for Israel: "Only the second course offers any positive prospect for fulfilling the strategic and economic interests of the United States in the Arab world, as well as for ensuring Israel's long-term ability to live in peace and to play a role as a member of the (troubled) family of Middle Eastern nations."

The report, naturally, has irked many of Israel's most loyal friends in the Democratic Party, including the former White House liaison to the American Jewish community during the Carter Administration, Edward Sanders. "I can see very little difference between the attitudes expressed by Professor Hoffmann and the (Defence Secretary) Casper Weinberger wing of the (Reagan) administration," he wrote in a letter to the centre.

"Furthermore," Sanders said, "upon re-examination of all of your publications, I have found no reference to the importance to the United States of the existence of the only democracy in the Middle East, Israel. This omission seems to me to be further evidence of the adoption of the Centre for National Policy of a view that American problems in

the region have their origin in Israel, and that the most radical elements in the Arab world must be mollified at Israel's expense."

Sanders, a member of the centre's advisory board, said he could not "sit by quietly while these views are being propounded."

"I believe that they are a disservice to the interests of the United States and also will injure any political party that is identified with them," he said.

"While individuals may not agree with every aspect of Israeli policy, I cannot be part of an organization whose position is that the problems of the Middle East can be traced to Israeli policies, which must be reversed by U.S. pressure on Israel. I have therefore concluded that I should resign immediately from the national advisory board and I ask that you consider this letter to be such a resignation."

Sanders sent copies to former vice president Walter Mondale, a close friend, and Democratic senators Kennedy, Alan Cranston of California and Gary Hart of Colorado, all possible Democratic presidential candidates in two years. Each has been supportive of Israel in the past.

TED VAN DYK, the head of the centre, later wrote back to Sanders, asking that he reconsider his resignation. The centre, itself, Van Dyk said, was not endorsing any Middle East position. It was simply putting forward some ideas for consideration. Sanders, he said, had misunderstood what the document was all about.

But for Sanders and many other leading Jewish political activists and fund-raisers, the writing seemed to be on the wall. Unless decisive action is taken quickly to reverse this increasingly hostile trend towards Israel, the situation could get out of control. That, they say, is the significance of the high Tsongas profile against Israel and the Hoffmann/Vance report.

The writer is the Washington correspondent of The Jerusalem Post.

THE TWO DAYS of Senate Foreign Relations Committee confirmation hearings for Secretary of State-designate George Shultz pointedly underlined the bipartisan, non-ideological nature of the current wave of anti-Israel criticism.

As demonstrated during the questioning, the two most bitter opponents of Israel's decision to move against PLO strongholds in Lebanon were Republican chairman Charles Percy of Illinois, a moderate conservative, and Democrat Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts, a staunch liberal.

Percy, who has been quite critical of various Israeli actions for at least eight years, repeatedly urged Shultz to find a way to bring the PLO into the peace negotiations. Shultz resisted, merely reaffirming the long-standing U.S. stance that the PLO would first have to recognize Israel's right to exist, accept UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 and "get off the guerrilla kick."

Tsongas, who had a reputation for being friendly towards Israel until he took a leadership role last year in condemning Israel's strike against the Iraqi nuclear reactor, strongly pressed Shultz to condemn the Israeli actions in Lebanon. Shultz merely expressed regret, which is exactly what President Ronald Reagan himself had done during his White House news conference 10 days earlier.

What was most fascinating about both Percy and Tsongas, was their effort to point out that Prime Minister Menachem Begin's policies have even been criticized by some American Jews; and as if to head off complaints from their Jewish constituents, both went out of their way to raise with Shultz the question of Soviet Jewish emigration rights — a cause which they strongly supported.

WITH TSONGAS taking the lead among liberal Democrats in attacking Israel these days, attention has automatically shifted somewhat to the hot debate on Israel now underway in the out-of-power Democratic

Party. The 1984 presidential campaign is only two years away. If Reagan seeks re-election, he probably will be vulnerable, on the basis of current public opinion polls. There is no doubt that the Democrats are itching to get back into the White House.

By going after Israel, Tsongas, the junior senator from Massachusetts, was merely following in the tradition of other democratic liberals, including former South Dakota Senator George McGovern, who frequently used to complain that Israel was being too intransigent on the Palestinian question.

But not all liberals agree. The senior Massachusetts senator, Democrat Edward Kennedy, has refused to join Tsongas in condemning the Jewish State, and has remained steadfast in his support for Israel.

Pro-Israel political activists here are under no illusions that a Democratic victory in 1984 would necessarily result in a more favourable climate of opinion towards Israel. Things might get worse. They may have had some problems with Reagan, but the many rough moments in U.S.-Israeli relations during Jimmy Carter's presidency still remain very vivid in their minds.

Furthermore, recent statements coming from the liberal wing of the Democratic Party are not all that soothing to Israel's best friends. The Centre for National Policy, which is a sort of democratic think-tank, gearing up on issues for the 1984 campaign, recently published a report on the Middle East that was quite condemnatory of Israel.

The report, entitled "Alternatives for the 1980's," focused on U.S. foreign policy. It was prepared by former secretary of state Cyrus Vance and Harvard University professor of government Stanley Hoffmann. Former deputy secretary of state Warren

eight), will be taken from them, his career prospects shattered. (Rusanda is a documentalist and translator of foreign documents at the National Council for Science and Technology of the Rumanian Institute of Standardization. Sergiu is a licensed architect at the prestigious Institute for Industrial Construction; he designs quarters for workers and related installations. "If we stay here beyond this hunger strike," says Rusanda, "we will be more dead than from starvation."

THE RATESCUS first requested exit visas to Israel in January 1970. A complicating factor is that Rusanda is non-Jewish.

"Generally," she says, "people here say they are not anti-Semites. But when it comes to the fact that their son or daughter meets and wants to marry a Jew, they are ready to do anything to stop it."

Her own parents, who are physicians and prominent among the ruling elite, opposed her marriage to Sergiu.

Three or four months after the wedding in 1970, her parents tried to persuade her to obtain a divorce. They have actively blocked the couple's attempt to emigrate, being well-placed to do so.

Rusanda's father holds the rank of general in the Rumanian army and is director of the Military

Hospital. It is rumoured that he is the preferred personal physician of President Nicolau Ceausescu's wife. As such, he enjoys high status and political access.

"You cannot leave this country," says Rusanda, "if you are the daughter of a general."

Rusanda's mother is in very close touch with the president's family. She practises medicine at a hospital for members of the government. She and Rusanda's father know the people who give emigration visas: if one has such contacts in Rumania, Rusanda points out, one uses them.

The Ratescus discovered that their parents were informed of their initial request for a visa the day after it was filed, and that their father — who was then a colonel — had taken steps to block it.

From May through September of 1970, the Ratescus were repeatedly interrogated at police headquarters,

## STARVING FOR FREEDOM

By CLAIRE KATZNELL / Special to The Jerusalem Post

both separately and together. In May Rusanda was expelled from university; she was near the end of the fourth and penultimate year toward a degree in Germanic languages. Sergiu was accused of being a Zionist and a practitioner of Judaism. On the strength of these allegations the police made threats against his person and his career.

Sergiu recalls that he was asked why he wanted to emigrate to Israel. "It is my country," he replied. "That I was born in 1947, before Israel was officially a state, is not my fault. Nor is it my fault that I was born here and not there. My father fled here from Poland — where he had been in a concentration camp during the War — because he was led to believe that Rumania was good to Jews. My father's name had been Rabinovitch; he was in a forced labour camp, he changed his name because he was fearful. As a child, I was taunted, 'Jew, leave for Palestine,' as they then called it. Now I am prepared to oblige them by leaving for Israel."

Rusanda was also grilled: Why did she want to leave with Sergiu? Didn't she know that her mother-in-law, who was working, risked being fired? Didn't she realize that her father-in-law had had two heart attacks already, and that his health would be further undermined by their efforts to leave?

In September 1970, Rusanda asked to be readmitted to university. In order to complete her programme she was required to state in writing that she was renouncing her intention to emigrate. She did this. Only then was the Ratescus request for a visa officially refused. Sergiu did not renounce his desire to leave. He was at the time in his sixth and final year of studies, but he succeeded in fooling the authorities that he had already finished the course. He in fact completed his degree later that year.

THINGS ARE tougher nowadays, Rusanda reports. In 1970, five students in addition to herself were ex-

pelled shortly after they filed applications to emigrate to Israel or to Western European countries. Today, students who request exit visas must at the same time sign an application not to continue at university; in other words, they are forced to "request" their own expulsion. They must take this request for expulsion to the police, who give them the form that is to be submitted for an emigration visa. In all likelihood the request will be denied.

Between 1970 and 1975, the Ratescus addressed dozens of letters, which I have seen, to the police of the Service de Passports, to the Conseil d'Etat and to the President. In June 1975 — June being the month each year for renewal of the MFN clause, a renewal contingent in part upon the signatory country giving evidence of human rights standards acceptable to the U.S. — the Ratescus were summoned by telephone to the offices of the police of the Service de Passports. There they were told to fill out once more a set of forms requesting emigration to Israel, and were advised that they would be able to leave within a month. On the strength of this verbal statement, they filled application forms for themselves, for Sergiu's parents, and for his ailing grandfather.

Within a month, Sergiu's grandfather received an exit permit, only to pass away several days later. Sergiu's parents also received exit permits, valid until October. But the younger Ratescus were turned down again.

The parents were in effect told that they could leave without their children. They decided to postpone their departure until such time as the authorities allowed the young people to leave with them.

But old people, as Rusanda puts it, "don't have much time to wait. My father-in-law died of his third heart attack in June 1976."

In early 1976, however, the authorities, with chilling cleverness, cited the fact that Sergiu's parents had allowed their previous year's visa to expire as reason for refusing

Rusanda and Sergiu's request of that year. Emigration to Israel, they pointed out, was intended to reunite families: Sergiu's parents had chosen to remain in Rumania.

IN 1977, Rusanda learned from her mother that a list of persons approved for emigration visas to Israel had been given to President Ceausescu for his authorization, and that the Ratescus's names did not appear on that list. None the less, they were summoned to appear again before the police of the Service de Passports.

"These are your passports," they were told, and passports bearing their names were shown them.

The Ratescus sold all their possessions, including their apartment, and produced documents to show that they had no debts to the state.

Sergiu Ratescu's renunciation of his Rumanian citizenship on June 25, 1977, required for the purpose of emigrating, appears in a form authenticated by the Ministry of Justice. They were cautious in not announcing their situation to colleagues at work, since they were sure they would be summarily fired. Ten days later, the police told Rusanda Ratescu, "Your parents complained directly to the President. They did everything possible to stop you. Your passports are withdrawn."

Yet on August 13, 1980, *Viata Nostra*, a publication of the Jewish community in Rumania, mentioned the couple among those who had been approved for emigration. In 1980, and again in 1981, they were mentioned by name in Radio Free Europe broadcasts as being among those who had received permission to leave Rumania. Sergiu speculates that a certain Mr. Rangher, cited in the *Viata Nostra* article for having spoken in the name of the Rumanian ambassador to Washington, misled the Americans into believing that the Ratescus had been granted authorization to leave.

From 1977 to the present, the Ratescus have had their situation examined by ostensibly concerned parties, approximately once a year and usually in June. In 1979, for example, Cyrus Abbe, an American attorney, appeared at their Bucharest home to ask what was happening to them; however, his visit did not lead to any help.

Rusanda Ratescu believes that if she and her husband were to emigrate to Israel, her parents would be forced to retire and would lose all their status. Her younger brother, who is a student, would be expelled from university and might

even be ostracized by his friends. She points out that in Rumania today, anyone branded by even speculative association with political deviance is fired from his work. The number of such victims is alarmingly larger than it has ever been. There needn't be a specific accusation, or an offence that merits prosecution.

"Here," Rusanda points out, "if you have a relative abroad, your career is ruined. I have to choose 'wild' to suffer."

RUSANDA AND SERGIU have chosen the extreme measure of hunger strike because, they claim, the Rumanian authorities are impervious to less radical tactics.

"These people," she says, "are killers. They are afraid, and they have everything to lose."

In the current political climate, mere threat to starve would only in spite further persecution.

The documents they have amassed fill several hefty dossiers. They include letters to the council of ministers, the justice minister, and the interior minister, and 10 or 11 memoranda addressed to President Ceausescu personally. To much of this correspondence — including all the notes to Ceausescu — there was no reply; to some of the rest there were perfunctory responses.

There are mutually contradicting documents bearing the seal and stamps of the government of Rumania — in particular, authorizations or near-authorizations to leave, and their subsequent withdrawal.

Rusanda is one of the most articulate and clear-thinking individuals I ever have met. And she is a mother. She points out that she and Sergiu "have already lived half our lives. But I am responsible for the life of my child, and I will take him out of this hell."

SERGIU RATESCU accompanied me part of the way back to the elegant tourist hotel at which I was requested to lodge in Bucharest, leaving me a safe block away from the hotel's entrance.

His father, he repeated, had been interned for being a Jew. He had had his name changed. He, Sergiu, would risk his life to go home, to Israel. He would not look back.

In May and June 1982, the Rumanian authorities allowed between 500 and 600 people to emigrate to Israel. This is an unprecedented number. Perhaps now is the time to shout louder. Perhaps they can be persuaded to release the Ratescus as well.

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# The life and death of Rafi Sharef

By LIORA MORIEL/Jerusalem Post Reporter



parents are very wealthy, but he was always very humble.

RAY SEREN Raphael (Rafi) Sharef was an exceptional figure: quiet, pleasant, cultured, brilliant. He survived battles and heavy enemy fire, saved the lives of many wounded soldiers, and emerged safely from Operation Peace for Galilee. Last Thursday, he telephoned from Rosh Hanikra: "I'm on my way home. Wait for me." In Atlit, he was killed in a car accident. He was 29.

"He never trusted drivers he didn't know, and particularly army drivers. And to sit in the back of an open truck, where it's so unsafe..."

RAFI WAS in a hurry. He wanted to get home to his wife and 10-month-old son as soon as possible to personally oversee the move of all their belongings from their rented house to a new flat of their own. The army driver who sped down the road from Tyre was in a hurry, too.

He was also very tired, and once safely out of the treacherous roads of Lebanon, he relaxed and fell asleep at the wheel.

Two other soldiers were killed, two wounded. The driver escaped almost without a scratch — and with no recollection of the event.

Rafi went to medical school right after high school. In November 1977, he enlisted for five years. He studied at Tel Aviv University and interned at the Soroka hospital in Beersheba. He wanted to be a heart specialist. Last year he started his residency at Soroka in internal medicine. Next year he was scheduled to continue in cardiology.

Prof. Glick, head of the department where Rafi worked, told me: "He was an excellent doctor — quiet, very devoted, someone you

only to his wife and high school comrades.

"Rafi was a terrific joker. He always looked serious, but he had moments of humor; a very special, entertaining humor. He did excellent imitations and could act."

Yehudit, his widow, told me that on the day that Rafi was accepted into medical school, he was also accepted into Zahal's entertainment corps. He decided to become a doctor.

When Rafi married and moved to Beersheba, he got a new post in the army along with his residency: active medical officer, Southern Region. This was essentially an administrative position and was very different from his previous posts; this made the transition from the field to the base difficult.

As a secondary assignment, he was doctor to a reserve parachute battalion and accompanied it to Lebanon when the war broke out.

A fellow officer said: "We were under the heaviest barrage of the whole war, perhaps, with many casualties and very many wounded. Rockets fell 10 metres from us, and some fell among us."

"And Rafi... I never saw a human machine so intent, so concentrated on his work, on his life-saving mission; cool, professional. He

operated under fire, urgent cases to save lives, and accomplished the impossible: all those he treated arrived in the hospital alive, and are still alive today."

RAFI WILL NOT see them released. On the day he planned to move to a new apartment, he was buried. His wife turned 23 two days later. They will not celebrate their second wedding anniversary this month. Matan will grow up without having known his father, even though he looks a lot like him.

"On the day we were supposed to move, Rafi moved on his own forever, and left us alone," said Yehudit.

Rafi, indeed, must have had intimations of his own mortality. He kept a diary throughout the war. One entry: "It's difficult for you to realize how much I think about you all the time, at all kinds of strange and not so strange moments. Although only a short while has gone by, it seems that the scale of importance has consolidated in a clear way as never before. I didn't need all this story to prove to me how important my family — you and Matan — are to me, but it's a good reminder."

"What hurts me the most is that you had to deal with everything alone, now of all times, with all your studies, and I ask you to forgive me if there is something that I could have done to help, to ease the burden, and didn't."

# THE SHIFT TOWARDS SHARON

PUBLIC FACES/Mark Segal

PRIME MINISTER Menachem Begin has answered many letters from reservists with strong views for or against continuing the war in Lebanon. But he hadn't met any face to face until he received a three-man delegation headed by Avraham Burg, a 27-year-old *shikumi* who also happens to be the son of our longest-serving cabinet minister.

The younger Burg, who served in Operation Peace for Galilee despite the injuries he suffered in a jump three years ago, brought along a paratrooper friend and a pal from the armoured corps. The three political reservists felt that the premier should know of the sincere doubts of many men in the field, and urged that they should not be labelled unpatriotic for arguing that no more Israeli soldiers fall in Lebanon.

an avid follower of radio and TV newscasts often phones radio chief Gideon Lev-Ari to register complaints. Shortly after he termed the opposition spokesmen "Labour's team of slanderers," the radio made the following comment: "The Labour team of spokesmen, which Mr. Begin calls 'the Labour team of slanderers'..."

AS BEFITS his man-of-action image, Sharon does not waste time complaining about media coverage — he does something about it. Witness Sharon's recent countermanding of Chief-of-Staff Rafael Eitan's approval for TV anchorman Ya'acov Achimeir to film a discussion on the war between wounded soldiers and pro and anti-war MK's at an army rest home.

And then there's the question of Yosef Sarid's protest to the minister this week about the army censor had banned a station from a Sarid parliamentary question. Sarid asserted that the ban was motivated by political rather than military considerations. Not unexpectedly, Sarid's banned question was easily available to all reports covering the Knesset.

There are occasions when Sharon doesn't need to act. For instance, there was the case of TV chief Tuvia Sarid not allowing an interview with Ma'ariv columnist Aharon Abramovitch, who has harshly criticized the way Sharon persuaded the cabinet to send the IDF beyond the original 40-to-45 km. target.

DRAWING THE LINE. The claim that Southern Lebanon is part of Eretz Yisrael has been made several times. Apparent minister-to-be Yair Ne'eman of Tebiya made it in an article on the back page of *The Jerusalem Post* a couple of weeks ago. The claim was repeated this week by Rabbi Zefania Drori of Kiryat Shmona, a Gush Emunim zealot, at the National Religious Party's executive meeting.

But we are still not sure how all that fits in with the rush decision by Aluf Gad Naveh, the chief army chaplain, to open a *heder yeshiva* in the old synagogue building in Sidon.

won't be any airliners flying out of Beirut this week.

DEPUTY PREMIER Simcha Ehrlich was reportedly not at all pleased that his old friend and Liberal political ally, Yisrael Sacharov, was finally squeezed out of the chairman's chair at Israel Aircraft Industries. His removal was reportedly engineered by Sharon, less than five years after Sacharov was appointed to the post by Ezer Weizman, the first Likud defence minister.

In the meantime, Industry and Trade Minister Gideon Palt did some squeezing out of his own, making a place for Sacharov by ousting the highly respected former agriculture minister, Haim Gvati, from the chairmanship of Israel's Chemicals Ltd.

Baruch Modan faced a storm of protest at midweek, from Raya Ratig of the Social Workers' Union. The fiery feminist accused Modan of "only seeing women as an instrument for satisfying lust and bearing children. She was protesting an order issued to all physicians, forbidding them to perform simple sterilization (*ikur*) operations without the written permission of the woman's husband."

Thundered Ms. (I wonder how you say that in Hebrew) Ratig: "It is unprecedented... We now see that the Health Ministry puts adult women in the category of minors, with the husband as guardian... We're surprised that the ministry should agree to train women, such weak-minded creatures, for responsible positions in the country's health system."

UNWANTED JOB. The news that Indira Gandhi's government had expelled Israel's consul-general in Bombay Yosef Hasseem, inspired maestro Zubin Mehta to quip: "Now I'm Israel's only representative in India."

Mehta made the comment at a Tel Aviv Hilton dinner party thrown by general manager Dieter Huckslein in honour of two of his star guests — Mehta and violinist Yitzhak Perlman. Also attending were Haim Topol and George Segal.

On Wednesday, Huckslein threw another party for soldiers wounded in the Lebanese war. "It looks like the Sam and Sammy Show," quipped one guest when U.S. Ambassador Samuel Lewis and entertainer Sammy Davis Jr. made a joint entrance. Shaike Ophir, the master of ceremonies, had this to say about Davis: "We loved you even before you were Jewish."

According to Hilton PR chief Ofra Baria-Hadar more VIP guests are due soon, including Danny Kaye, for certain, and possibly Liza Minnelli.

OR YEHUDA yesterday honoured its "first minister," Mordechai Ben-Porat, for years chairman of the local council. The new minister-without-portfolio was largely responsible for making an immigrant township out of what was the Sekiya *ma'abara* in the 1950's.

# A PUBLIC ACCUSATION

WE CONDEMN those who demand a unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon before a political solution satisfactory to Israel is achieved.

WE CONDEMN those who attempt to save the remnants of the PLO. Their supporters in Israel are misleading the public by setting themselves up as the guardians of our morality and as the protectors of the lives of our sons and comrades — but actually they are endangering the lives of our soldiers by creating waves of defeatism.

In their hypocrisy they ignore the thousands of Jewish and Israeli victims of terrorist murderers through the years, and also the tens of thousands of Lebanese men, women and children slaughtered by the Syrian conquerors and their PLO henchmen.

WE CONDEMN those who slander the name of Israel, her leaders, and soldiers who are spilling their blood in defence of Israel.

No other army in the world has ever taken such risks, and sacrificed so many men, to minimize civilian casualties.

We call on the citizens of Israel to join us in this indictment against the slanderers at home and abroad who divide and weaken the people, some for narrow personal or party interests, thereby aiding the enemy, prolonging the war, and endangering the lives of our sons and comrades who are defending the Jewish people.

We support the Israel Government in this defensive struggle and call upon it to continue the war until all its just aims have been realised.

- |  |  |   |  |
|--|--|---|--|
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|--|--|---|--|

David Rosenfeld — of blessed memory — murdered by PLO bandits July 2, on Herodion.



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WE SHOULD HAVE KNOWN DEPT. Beirutis are very very aware of the ins and outs of Israeli politics. That was confirmed when Labour MKs Dov Ben-Meir, Rafi Elri, Yehuda Hashal and Amnon Lima met some prominent Christians in the Lebanese capital this week. One of the locals looked at Lima and commented: "Isn't he the one who recently left the coalition to join the opposition?"

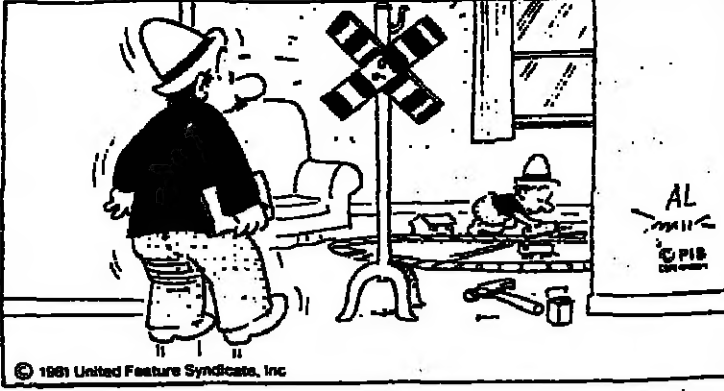
IT MIGHT be said that the composition of the parliamentary delegation to the recent Council of Europe session in Dublin "got up the Irish" of Liberal MK Sara Doron. In a message to Speaker Menachem Savidor, she wondered why Labour's Chaim Herzog couldn't have been included in the Knesset delegation of herself, Menachem Porush of Agudat Yisrael, and Labourites Shlomo Hillel and Uri Sabag. And she mentioned that in the Irish capital, they still remember Herzog's late father, Rabbi Avraham Yitzhak Halevi Herzog, who was chief rabbi of Ireland before coming to Eretz Yisrael.

ON THE FEMINIST FRONT. Health Minister director-general



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### SOLUTIONS TO TODAY'S PUZZLE NEXT FRIDAY

### Brooding Reading

By William Lutwiniak/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Maleska

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# Bumper programme for festival

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN/Jerusalem Post Reporter

TICKETS for the Israel Festival will soon be on sale, marking the end of a three-year hiatus. The return of the festival will be celebrated with some 200 performances between September 1 and 19, and will include programmes in such widely scattered areas as Kiryat Shmona in the north and Eilat in the south.

Despite the war in Lebanon, the organizers intend to stick to their original schedule, hoping for an end to the fighting before the start of the festival. This will enable both Israelis and tourists to enjoy the performances.

The Israel Festival (including the Jerusalem Spring Festival) is being financed this year by the Education, Tourism and Foreign Ministries, and by public bodies and foreign governments.

Due to huge financial deficits, the festival was discontinued three years ago. Somebody up there must

have realized how important such a project is, because the coming festival's budget was set at \$1.7m.

At the request of the Tourism Ministry, performances will be held in Kiryat Shmona, Ein Gedi, Beersheba, the Dead Sea and Eilat, as well as in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Caesarea, Beit She'an, Haifa and other venues.

Compared to previous festivals, organizers promise this one will be even richer in its variety and in the quality of performances, with music, dance, theatre, folklore and jazz shows geared to appeal to the full range of cultural tastes.

Directed by Gideon Paz, the festival will feature many performances commissioned or produced

especially for the occasion. An unprecedented number of foreign guest artists and companies will perform with artists from Italy, England, the U.S., Argentina, Brazil, Germany, Holland, Egypt, Spain, East Europe and Japan highlighting the occasion.

AMONG THE numerous productions commissioned or created especially for the Israel Festival are Dan Horowitz's *Yossele Golem* (performed by the Haifa Municipal Theatre); Ruth Ziv-Eyal's *Cycle* (Neve Tzedek Theatre Group);

Nathan Alterman's *King Solomon and the Cobbler* (Tel Aviv Cameri Theatre); Elizabeth Swados' *Jonah and the Whale* (American-Israel Company); Stravinsky's *The Rake's Progress* (The Netherlands Opera, with Scottish singers and the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra); and Mendelssohn's *Elijah* (conducted by Gary Bertini, with soloists Arlene Auger, Mira Zakai, Werner Holweg, and Brand Weikl).

Sure to be a favourite is the production of the classic musical *West Side Story* with the 46 actors of the West Side Story Company of

New York. Written by Jerome Robbins, Leonard Bernstein, Steven Sondheim and Arthur Lawrence, the play has been a hit throughout the world. The actors plan the performance as a stop in the company's tour of South America and Europe.

Tickets will be available at the Jerusalem Theatre, at the Tel Aviv Hadran, and the Haifa Theatre, with discounts for students, soldiers, pensioners and organized groups.

Purchasers of tickets for five different festival performances will receive one free ticket for any per-

formance, and those buying tickets for eight different performances are eligible for two free tickets.

TEL AVIV'S hottest discotheque, The Colosseum, will host the British pop group Imaginon on July 29, 30 and 31, and for a fourth performance exclusively for Colosseum youth members. The first three performances will cost 15,000 for visitors, including a first drink and will be free of charge for members.

The Hot Frogs Jazz Band arrived on Friday for a series of performances for troops and wounded soldiers with movie star George Segal. Segal, who is making his first visit to Israel, arrived with his banjo

as a guest of the Soldiers Welfare Association, El Al and the Kinneret Foundation.

Segal was accompanied by television director Stanley Dorfman and Hillard Elkins, who will film programmes for cable television in the U.S. According to Segal, as an apolitical figure he felt free to talk to Israelis and Lebanese and make up his own mind about the situation here.

Segal and the Hot Frogs Jazz Band have not prepared a special show for Israel. "We have no act, we talk to people and play spontaneously. It's the real thing, that's what keeps me alive and interested, charging my battery," Segal said.

He told reporters that his last movie, *The Man in Apartment 5A*, in which he plays with Irene Cara of *Fame* will soon be screened in the U.S.

## THE JERUSALEM POST

HALLACH HEHADASH—Classified Advertisements in cooperation with MA'ARIV-HA'ARETZ-HA'IR-KOL HA'IR.

All classified advertisements for Friday submitted to Halach Hehadash head office by 5 p.m. Thursday preceding publication appear in this section.

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Beit Hakarem, 4, beautiful, 95,000, 2nd floor, cupboards, 525506.

Horkania, on pillars, 4, large, storeroom, in urban, double convenience, 80,000, Tel. 630768.

Luxury flat, Sderot Herzl, 4 rooms, bargain, 02-52953, 02-34069, not Shabbat.

### Flats for rent

Givat Mordechai, 3½, heating, phone, unfurnished, 663040, 22971.

French Hill, 3-room cottage, Ramat Eshkol, whole floor in villa; Beit Hakarem, 3 rooms, Eshkol, 81769.

New Ramat, 3, beautiful, cupboards, solar heater, 423169, weekdays.

San Simon, new building, with lift, 12 flats for monthly rental for residence-office, together or individually, 02-34069, 02-69966, not Shabbat.

### Key money

Ramat Eshkol, monthly rental, 3, Tel. 02-77776, 09-00-1300, 16-00-1800.

Immediate, Neve Yaakov, 3, dinette, phone, long term, 850047.

Herzog, 3 rooms, phone, spacious, heating, 635012.

Kiryat Moshe, 2½, yard, separate entrance, renovations, 5180, Tel. 536038.

### Armon Hanatziv, 3, cupboards, long term, 5200, Tel. 718323.

Burla, 4½ rooms, furnished, phone, lift, 673444.

Neve Yaakov, 3 + heating, unfurnished, 1st floor, preferably religious, 245248.

Kiryat Yovel, 3 + balcony, partially furnished, phone, 717148, 244762.

Kiryat Yovel, 3, phone, 22971, 190, year in advance, 533687, evenings; 535013, work, Yosi.

### Immediate, Armon Hanatziv, 3 + dinette, dinette, 190, 712911, not Shabbat.

Maupin, 4 + phone, heating, 2nd floor, new building, 662599.

### Guatemala, 4, long term, phone, solar heater, cupboards, 41896, not Shabbat.

Herzog, 3, unfurnished, phone + lift, 350 Dassy, 243951.

### Beit Hakarem, new building, spacious flat, 4 rooms, no term, no Shabbat.

Neve Shana, 3 + kitchen, conveniences, yard, adjacent garden, ideal for kindergarten, Centurio, 02-522900.

### Ramat Shalom, 3 rooms + phone, 5250, 248333, 668038.

Maalot Dina, 4, 2½, flights up, phone, cupboards, 742198, weekdays.

### Peter Koenig, 3 + kitchen, cupboards, phone, lift, 5th floor, 630992.

Eilat Talpuz, 3, fully furnished, phone, 2nd floor, 243173.

### Meir Baruch, 2, unfurnished, no phone, immediate, 24575, weekdays.

Flatmate for 2 room flat + lounge, heating, phone, Palmach 02-699734.

### 3½, centre, unfurnished, 632930, mornings, not Shabbat.

Gila, 4, new, double convenience, 2nd floor, view, 243173.

### Unit centre, 3, cupboards, immediate, 637881, not Shabbat.

Herzog, 3, spacious, cupboards, immediate, for any period, 533327.

### Beit Hakarem, 3, cupboards, furnished, 5250, 02-522543.

Bar Yeha, 2, partially furnished, phone, 3rd floor, 150, 24501.

### Armon Hanatziv, 3, 500, Ramat Shalom, 4, 324, Neve Yaakov, 3, 180, Harav Uziel, 3½, 300, Ramat, 3, 250, Ransco, 3, 350, and more. Mikhalit Realty, 243311.

Kama Yaakov, central, 4, unfurnished, immediate, 538704, not Shabbat.

### Unit Beit Hakarem, 2½ + phone, garden, 220, 02-523173.

San Simon, 3½, phone, 360, minimum year, 52751, weekdays.

### Ramat Shalom, flatmate, for 2 rooms + phone, 5115 415628.

Beit Hakarem, 2, immediate, for year + phone, 5250, 02-51597.

### Neve Yaakov, 3, phone, year or more, 63598, weekdays.

Beit Hakarem, 2, phone, ground floor, year or more, 521730.

### Ramat Eshkol, 4-5 rooms, fully furnished, year (+ option) from September, 54535.

San Simon, 3, spacious, heating, convenient transportation, immediate, 421560.

### Old Kalamon, 1½ + phone, suitable for elderly, 631084.

For religious! Neve Yaakov, 3, dinette, fitted cupboard, phone, 421567.

### Gila, terrace, 4, phone, 5250 057, 71255, weekdays.

Uziel, 4, luxurious, fully furnished, for year, 42155, 420330.

### Tayassim, 1½, spacious, heating, phone, cupboards, from September, 664981.

Shimon, 4, phone, heating, 2nd floor, immediate, 02-511686.

### Ramat Eshkol, 3½, furnished, heating, for year, 712123.

German Colony, 3, furnished, phone, heating, for August-September, 634160.

### For rent, house in Goldera Green, London, for 10 months, starting August 22nd, 02-416456.

French Hill, roommates for 4 furnished, phone, 5101, 816605.

Rehavia, for religious tourists, 4, luxurious, from August 22, 638693.

Ambassador Real Estate offers tourists! Luxury flat, Rehavia, 4, immediate — end of August; Kiryat Wofson, 3, August only, 634329, Moadin.

Bayk Vegan, 3, ground floor, long term, 5560, Ambassador, 632302, Moadin.

Rehavia, 4, luxurious, 110sq.m., for 1 year, 690232, 660320, weekdays.

Kiryat Moshe, 3, for religious, 52193, Sunday, 10:00-12:00, 16:00-18:00.

Stern, in new, 3, dinette, 2nd floor, phone, heating, 713333.

Gila, 4, immediate, wonderful view, solar heater, 673118.

Gila, 3 rooms, unfurnished, phone, 532052, not Shabbat.

Pierre Koenig, 3 + closed balcony, heating, 234947, not Shabbat.

Baka, 4, immediate, phone, cupboards, Zenuk, 221451, 4, Moadin, selection of offers.

Tzameret Habira, 5, furnished, phone, for year, 5300 monthly, immediate occupancy, F.I.C.I. Kiryat Moadin, 221451, 247738.

Kiryat Moshe, monthly rent, 19, phone, nice, partially furnished, 02-712026, 02-410426.

Ramat Danya, cottage, 6 rooms, phone, cupboards, agency, 819394.

Beit Hakarem, 4 rooms + audio flat, phone, 02-525644, 03-778701.

Uziel, 3, phone, parking, 02-842579, evenings, not Shabbat.

### Key money

Kiryat Moshe, for religious, studio flat, low ground floor, 524858, afternoons.

Beit Hakarem, 2, immediate, 02-535456, 02-25476, afternoons.

Heart of Rehavia, 4, large beautiful room, 2nd floor, 635891, Tel. 536038.

On Rashi, 2, large, 2nd floor, 243831, shop, 228107.

Selection of flats, key-money, Even Dan, 248480, from 16:00, Friday from 10:00.

Nib 2, well-kept, solar heater, 450,000, Haneeman Yoni, lat. 232581, Moadin.

Ein Karem, 8 large, 2 separate entrances, garden, 243173.

Yaffo, centre, 3 spacious, quiet, 3rd floor, T.A.C. 521404, Moadin.

Kiryat Moshe, for religious, 3 large, 2nd floor, 524886, afternoons.

Centre, 2½ renovated + fitted kitchen cupboards, 650,000, 238660.

### Furnished flats

French Hill, 3, furnished, modern + phone, for year, 02-23497, lat. 23497.

Yale No. 4, room flat, for year, heating, 02-634537.

Tzameret Habira, 3, beautiful, phone, heating, one year, 811713.

Construction of Tel Aviv, 4, fully furnished, for 2 years, 02-634134.

Talbiyah, Talpuz, Kiryat Moshe, Ramat Eshkol, for tourists! Pirum Or, 3 Ben Yehuda.

Kiryat Moshe, 3, room furnished flat, phone, 02-533451, not Shabbat.

3, Uziel, near Holyland, for 3 months, phone, 5250, 533920.

French Hill, 3, with/without furniture, long term, 243173.

Uziel, 3, phone, view, huge kitchen, for year, 423384.

Flatmate for furnished flat, 1, lounge, phone, Shimon, 631671.

Sandhera Hamurev, 1, phone, 2nd floor, 36513, 09-00-1910.

3 room flat, fully furnished + phone, Pat, available in September, 420414.

### FURNISHED ROOMS

Centre, double room, lively, for tourists, maximum comfort, 02-234529.

Rehavia, lovely room for tourists, 243173, short term 02-638648.

Furnished room for student, religious nurse, Rehov Haturim, 534452.

### Flats Wanted

Large flat required in Bayk Vegan, monthly rental, furnished, for 10 months, 02-523173, Tel. 02-416456.

### Extremely urgent, for purchase, Rehavia, Talbiyah, Kiryat Shmuel, Moonshine, 22578, Moadin.

Flat required, 3½-4, low floor, religious, for year, 52751, weekdays.

### Flats required in Maalot-Admunim, 1, 4 rooms for waiting clientele, Kef-1, 24400, 22542, Moadin.

You want to sell your flat? We'll take you time and money! Centurio, 1 Mordechai Ben Hillel, 02-225900.

### Flats required for serious clients, Zohar Realty, 244716, 243386, Moadin.

Armon Hanatziv, Ramat, flats required, 2, 3, 4, for immediate cash, F.I.C.I. International, Moadin, 247338, 232812.

### Seeking person to purchase for year, monthly rental, Pirum Or, 3 Ben Yehuda.

### PURCHASE/SALE

Maalot Daphna, flat contents, 119-22, 10:00-17:00, cash, Saturday.

### Flat contents! Washing machine, electric typewriter, 690760.

Deep integral massage for pain and tension relief, Presdo, 231302.

### Yuki international, overlock, 3 threads, Universal motor, excellent condition, Friedman 14 refrigerator, 3-door, 520413.

Technical equipment, sliding doors, 2 + 240, 537072, 718519.

Automatic Friedmann 13 refrigerator, almost new, 624044.

Sale, 13000 children's cupboard, almost new, 690642.

Bridge table, air-conditioner, chairs, curtain material, new, 02-635647.

Antique card table, carved oak desk, pair red leather armchairs, special made Volvo roof rack, 02-535814.

Double bed + Friedmann washing machine + electrical appliances, 635185.

Saturday evening bargain, Refrigerator, book-shelves, dining room furniture and clothes, 590325.

Cupboard, lamps, Castro couch-bed, heater, Chinese dishes, Burma, 526855, a work, 23987, not Shabbat.

Amcor 175 freezer, excellent condition, 48-11 East-Talpiot, 247344.

Kenwood clothes dryer, new, for 4kg, 67195.

Links Lux for excellent, new, bargain, 285201.

New bookcases, youth desks, shelves, pinewood, agency, 819394.

Bedroom, large, no-frills, kitchen, in packing, 51200, 02-531967.

Shirt + long-playing record, free. For those who advertise through Pirum Or, Kiryat Shmuel, Meir Baruch Industrial Area, 02-247662.

### Musical Instruments

New, used pianos, organs, reasonable prices, Goren, 12 Shmuni, 02-226544.

English piano, unique style, 5800, excellent, 718323.

Harpicaster, new, used pianos, 13 Ben-Shimon, 02-244166.

Yamaha double keyboard organ, rhythm box, good condition, Bargain, 525038.

### Refrigerators

Amcor 13, 5 years old, as new, 10-00, 227238, 222603.

### PERSONNEL

#### Situations Vacant

Experienced salesperson for Shkem, for Yagil, interviews Sunday from 11:00.

National construction company seeks construction engineer, 02-863534, 02-863849.

Seeking domestic and cleaning help, Ramat, 02-861473.

Wanted, for domestic office, part time secretary (typist), Tel. 231993.

Elderly (m), seeks German Hebrew speaker, for house keeping and cooking, 3 hours daily, Jerusalem, Tel. 02-63113, afternoons, from 16:00-17:00.

Wanted, English secretary-typist, knowledge of Hebrew, experience, for 5 hours, 718414, 664538.

Wanted, clerk, for office, split shift, fluent in English, pleasant appearance, 227223.

Religious seminar seeks typist, experienced with electrical typewriter, for 15:30-19:00, 02-222157-8.

Industrial plant seeks senior worker, for polyester manufacturing department, basic knowledge of paint colour mixing, 02-524217.

Wanted, metapet for 2 minutes, from September, Tel. 690644.

Wanted, students, for work in shifts, 02-227732, 02-227732.

Interviewers required, at least high school education, pleasant appearance, consumers service work, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa area, full time, hours, 04-60012, from 08:30-12:30.

Optometrist required for afternoon work, 02-225881.

Self-study and experienced chef required by Shalom Hotel, Jerusalem, excellent conditions, details in personnel department, 02-341431.

#### Outstanding typists for immediate temporary work, hourly basis, mornings, Tibur, 02-34038-9.

Hadassa convention in Jerusalem requires typists on English typists for 2 weeks beginning August 3. Contact: Judy, 02-815454.

#### Wanted, income auditor, with hotel experience, for Ayalon Tower Hotel, 231261, Moadin.

Insurance clerk for underwriting office, split shift, good conditions, 36949.

#### Printed Press urgently seeks montage-photographer, Hebrew-English compositor, part/full time or hourly, 02-247662.

Electronics technician with army experience + television background, 02-24710.

#### Wanted for boutique, skilled and highly-experienced salesperson, 02-533250, 02-537878.

Seeking person to fetch girl from kindergarten + light housework, 538175.

#### Bookkeeper required for bookshop, 08:00-14:00, 232922, litach.

Person required to take care of elderly (m) + accommodation, Tel. 710854, 528089.

#### Seeking experienced draughtsman-technician for architect, Tel. 669228.

Experienced salesperson for tourism sector required, language knowledge essential, 02-811007.

#### Electronics plant, seeks dynamic, responsible secretary, office management, capable + typing, full time, serious applicants only, 02-817791, 02-818377.

Excellent English-Hebrew typist required, Apply Shalom, 69146.

Community Centre Gilo, seeks qualified kindergarten teachers, experienced in working with children 2-4 year olds; kindergarten teacher assistants for kindergarten, 10 school years + experience in working with children, 02-671636, 02-673176.

Public organization requires experienced secretary for part-time, 241711, 525150.

Student as companion, + care for ID disabled, possible live-in, driving licence required, 666884, 611293, mornings.

Marketing company seeks experienced agents, preferably with car, for work in summer, suitable payment for suitable, 242338, 24900, 14:00-17:00.

English index operator required, experience essential, switch board, Hebrew, English, full time, good conditions, Contact, Sunday, 639301, Adina.

Wanted, architect, talented, pleasant and loves to work, 02-632403, 02-632772.

### Situations Wanted

Energetic + experience in administration and organization seeks suitable work or as independent agent, investment possibility, 02-662944, evening weekdays.

Experienced metapet, for care of children in her home, 663474, Saturday, 02-662944.

### Business

Patisserie, excellent condition, plenty of income, available for monthly, 02-717132, 02-817543.

Licensed, sought garage, to rent, or purchase, 02-528528.

For sale, distribution right for Strauss cheese, plentiful income, 861337.

Shirt + long-playing record — free. To those advertising in Lush Hehadash through us, Pirum Or, Meir Baruch Industrial Area, 02-247662.

Selection of calendars, diaries, from the Source, Pirum Or, 02-247662. Experienced sales agents required.

Centre and Kiryat Menachem, monthly rental, 7 rooms, commercial, 222486.

Coffee shop rental, near Jerusalem, including equipment, 02-222110.

### Industrial Premises

Kiryat Hanoussim, Talpuz, monthly rental, 140sq.m. garage, 236417, work, 24502.

Wanted, for domestic office, part time secretary (typist), Tel. 231993.

Romema, 6 rooms, airconditioners, fitted cupboards, 3 phone lines, for purchase, Jerusalem, 233118.

In triangle, flat, 2½, monthly rental, 22073, not Shabbat.

City Centre, 3½ rooms, 3350, 2 rooms, 5180, Yachin, 02-228004, 02-249378, Moadin.

### Plots

Seeking approximately ½ dunam in Hevaseret, Yerushalayim (Zion), with or without house, 02-224274, 16:00-19:00.

### Shops

To let, Agrippas, Ramat, approx. 90-q.m., all purpose, 22704, Gal-Had. Monthly rental, 180q.m. shop, Ben Yehuda centre, 234148.

Mercat, Gilo, selection of offices, shops, for anyone interested in renting, F.I.C.I. International, Moadin, 232812, 247738.

### Matrimonial

For serious only, pretty, established graduate, 34(1) waiting for education, established, 30-30, P.O.B. 2391-956, Jerusalem.

### Groups

Trips for singles to vacation spots and social meetings, 02-528720, 02-34020.

**Ashdod**

FLATS

Flats for Sale

Delet Quarter, garden flat, 135sq.m., immediate, 035-62469.



## PLO EVACUEES

(Continued from Page One)

the besieged forces should travel there.

It is still widely felt here that the Syrian position... reaffirmed this week, is a bargaining ploy aimed at gaining concessions for any agreement to allow the PLO into Syria.

No progress is expected until the Syrian and Saudi Arabian foreign ministers, Khaddam and Prince Saud al-Faisal, make a projected visit to Washington next week. But it is unclear when this visit will take place and it could be delayed by the fighting in the Gulf.

One of the concessions Syria may be seeking is to be allowed a continued military presence in Lebanon.

This could cause complications as Israel has said it will not withdraw its forces until the PLO and Syrians leave Lebanon.

In the meantime, government sources said negotiators were considering a proposal to declare Beirut Airport, which lies south of the city where Israeli and terrorist lines currently meet, a neutral area under Red Cross protection.

Arafat said yesterday that no firm decision to leave Beirut for Syria has been made, but noted that the PLO's headquarters are in Damascus and that the PLO still maintains camps in Syria.

Beirut's two main newspapers, *Al-Nahar* and *As-Safir*, said that the PLO is demanding "political compensation" for a pullout from West Beirut. Among the political demands being put forward, the reports said, is some sort of direct contact with the U.S.

One Palestinian source said that although this was not central to the PLO's demands, it will "obviously be welcome."

He said one of the reasons that the talks are moving forward so slowly is the complicated maze of contacts necessary to communicate between the PLO and U.S. negotiators.

Beirut newspapers said that the U.S. and Saudi Arabia were making efforts to persuade Soviet-backed

Syria to reverse its refusal to take the PLO.

Khaled al-Hassan, a top political adviser to Arafat, was in New York waiting to join the foreign ministers of Saudi Arabia and Syria in Washington next week.

In Beirut, the PLO security chief said yesterday that a military showdown on the streets of West Beirut is a "foremost probability."

"We are engaged in political negotiations but a fight remains the foremost probability," said Salah Khalaf, better known as Abu Iyad, in a speech over the PLO's Voice of Palestine radio station. "We are prepared to fight and shall do it with everything we have, even with our nails."

In Rome, Defence Minister Lello Laogoro said yesterday that Italy is willing to contribute troops to an international peacekeeping force to supervise the PLO's evacuation from Beirut.

His statement followed a request on Wednesday by Lebanon's government for the creation of such a force, and the withdrawal of Israel, Syria and the PLO from the country. (UPI, Reuters, AP.)

## Bank of Israel rates of exchange

July 15, 1982	IS
U.S. dollar	25.2950
British sterling	43.6250
German mark	10.1334
French franc	3.6464
Dutch guilder	9.1865
Swiss franc	11.8881
Swedish krona	4.1053
Norwegian krone	3.9604
Danish krone	2.9310
Finnish mark	5.3096
Canadian dollar	19.9287
Australian dollar	25.5947
South African rand	21.8966
Belgian franc (10)	5.3197
Austrian schilling (10)	14.3979
Italian lire (100)	1.8137
Japanese yen (100)	9.8654
Jordanian dinar	71.58
Lebanese lira	4.80

## Money Matters

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN

**TEL AVIV.** — The share market ended the week with modest gains that led the general share index upward by nearly 1 per cent. Volatile activity was nearly equally divided among winners and losers, as 39 issues were up by 5 per cent or more and an equal number fell by similar margins. Trading turnovers slipped to 15,363 million.

The index-linked bond market, in advance of the announcement of a 6 per cent rise in the cost-of-living index for the month of June, was vir-

## Modest gains in share market

tually unchanged. "Double-option" bonds however, came through with moderate gains.

The commercial bank share continued to make solid headway. Danot 5.0 was up by 10 per cent in the "continuous trading" session. In the regular session Danot 1.0 stock was ahead by nearly six per cent. United Mizrahi was up by nearly 2

## Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

per cent, while Maritime Bank continued its upward rise.

Insurance issues ended the session with modest gains. Phoenix 0.5 was group leader with a 6 per cent rise.

Closing price	Volume	Change	Change %
151,000			
Index	28,500	-5	-0.02
IDB prf	244.0	3.3	+1.00
IDB r	244.0	3.3	+1.00
IDB prf A	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf B	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf C	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf D	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf E	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf F	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf G	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf H	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf I	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf J	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf K	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf L	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf M	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf N	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf O	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf P	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf Q	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf R	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf S	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf T	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf U	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf V	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf W	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf X	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf Y	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf Z	743.0	4.1	+0.50

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IDB prf F	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf G	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf H	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf I	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf J	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf K	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf L	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf M	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf N	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf O	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf P	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf Q	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf R	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf S	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf T	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf U	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf V	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf W	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf X	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf Y	743.0	4.1	+0.50
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IDB prf F	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf G	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf H	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf I	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf J	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf K	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf L	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf M	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf N	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf O	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf P	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf Q	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf R	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf S	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf T	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf U	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf V	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf W	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf X	743.0	4.1	+0.50
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IDB prf Z	743.0	4.1	+0.50

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IDB prf D	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf E	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf F	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf G	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf H	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf I	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf J	743.0	4.1	+0.50
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IDB prf Y	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf Z	743.0	4.1	+0.50

Closing price	Volume	Change	Change %
151,000			
Index	28,500	-5	-0.02
IDB prf	244.0	3.3	+1.00
IDB r	244.0	3.3	+1.00
IDB prf A	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf B	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf C	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf D	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf E	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf F	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf G	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf H	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf I	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf J	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf K	743.0	4.1	+0.50
IDB prf L	743.0	4.1	+0.50
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## The price of Tehiya

THE WAR in Lebanon has been accompanied by two other challenges: how to maintain national unity with dissent, and how to repair the damage to Israel's image abroad caused by the manner in which the international press reported — and still reports — the war.

Prime Minister Begin quite plainly held at the outset that the war would not strain the nation to a degree that would require him to incorporate the parliamentary opposition in the process and symbolism of executive responsibility. He informed the Labour Party leadership of Israel's planned action, scarcely an hour before it began and has kept them at a distance since.

At the same time, he, and many in his party, have deplored the criticism of the war that has been voiced from within and without the ranks of the opposition. He has, in other words, asked for national consent but studiously avoided taking bipartisan steps to achieve it.

Instead he would seek to bring the Tehiya Party into the coalition in order to increase the government's parliamentary majority by three more votes. In Mr. Begin's calculus and that of the so-called Liberal Party, such a marginal increase has a higher priority than fortifying national unity by reaching out to the principal parliamentary opposition.

The Tehiya Party, synonymous with annexation of the West Bank and Gaza, will drive the government further to the right, deepening the polarization in the country.

Its inclusion in the government will also undermine any prospects of repairing Israel's image abroad. For if the government, by the present war, seeks to drive home the distinction between the PLO and the Palestinian issue, it must also display a credible Palestinian policy. Until now "autonomy" at least provided a label, if not necessarily substance, for such a policy. With Tehiya, even the label will be eclipsed. Annexation will be perceived as its replacement.

The Prime Minister, to protect Israel's image, has also repeatedly given public assurances that Israel has no territorial ambitions in Lebanon. It is certainly an imaginative exercise in public relations to now bring into his Cabinet Yuval Ne'eman, who advocates that Israel make the Zaharani River, or at least the Litani, Israel's "security border."

These are the signals that Israel sends abroad, without any compensatory messages. For Mr. Begin has been too busy to give interviews, for example, to the foreign press — leaving the field open for Yasser Arafat — and his foreign minister, who should be the country's most active spokesman has totally abandoned that role. Even when Mr. Shamir had the opportunity, last Sunday, to appear on a major ABC television programme in the U.S. he cancelled, reportedly pleading ill health.

If, therefore, the strains on national unity and the cracks in Israel's image, exercise Mr. Begin and his colleagues, they need not look far for those responsible.

## OVERRATED NATIONALISM

By YOSEF GOELL

Palestinian nationalism itself has been vastly overrated. Consider the following:

□ Although official figures have not been released, there are estimates that there are well over 1,000 foreign "volunteers" — both mercenaries and convinced terrorists in the ranks of the PLO in Lebanon. Many of them have been captured by Israel, but most are still reported to be in Beirut.

□ One of the shocking discoveries of the early days of the war was the large number of teenage Palestinian children in the ranks of PLO fighters, often as young as 12, 13 and 14.

□ Another large segment of PLO fighters are clearly Palestinian mercenaries. Our present confrontation with this fact would seem to bear out the impression built up over the years from captured PLO terrorists who attempted to infiltrate into Israel, that the vast majority were mercenaries.

I TICK OFF these points at this time not so much to comment on the nature of the PLO as a fighting force but to pose a question that has been nagging at me for some time: If the cause of Palestinian nationalism is so strong, if it is so "historically inexorable" as some argue, where are all the adult Palestinian patriots?

If the Palestinian people, as it is argued, number between three and four millions, why was it necessary to base the central organization that purports to represent that people, too such a large extent on children, and on foreign and indigenous mercenaries?

Surely if there are so many dedicated Palestinian patriots there should have been no need to scrape the bottom of the barrel. But apparently there was.

Combine this with the evidence of an astonishingly easy occupation in the West Bank and Gaza for over 15 years, the very reverse of the guerrilla hell that could have been expected from a nationally motivated population supposedly languishing under the yoke of a foreign oppressor.

WHEN ONE leaves the field of the Palestinian military effort and considers other aspects of nation-building, the picture is even more dejecting from the point of view of those who tout the idea of Palestinian national self-liberation.

We ourselves are a new nation with experience of the process by which we turned into a modern nation fresh enough in our memories to enable us to judge others.

Where is the Palestinian educational system? Where is even a rudimentary attempt at internal "national" economic coordination? Where, one could ask considering the existence of a large and fairly well-to-do Palestinian diaspora, is the Palestinian equivalent of the United Jewish Appeal, or of a Palestinian Hadassah, and medical system and of other such institutions, each of which serve to tie the diffuse loyalty of different components of people to the cause of the nation?

The answer is largely, if not entirely, that they are simply not there. To be sure, there is a widely based feeling of pride among Palestinian Arabs in their "Palestinianness."

On the basis of my contacts with Palestinian Arabs, both in Israel proper and in the territories, I have not the slightest doubt that they do have such a feeling.

WHAT I AM arguing is that that feeling, with the exception of a relatively small number of educated young people, is astonishingly shallow. The best analogy I could bring is that of the many Jews throughout the world who have a soft spot in their hearts for Israel and a certain sense of pride in its accomplishments, military or other, but nothing else.

If all Jews felt like that, there would be no Israel. It is our good fortune that there were a sufficient, large enough minority of Jews whose dedication to the idea of Jewish national liberation was so deep as to make its realization possible.

The number of Palestinian Arabs who are so dedicated to their own vision of Palestinian national liberation as to be ready to sacrifice their lives, livelihoods, comforts and other values, has been to the contrary, infinitesimally small.

What I am saying is that there is no Palestinian problem because, by the evidence, there is no Palestinian nation. Certainly not to the extent that there is a Kurdish nation or a Basque nation. Perhaps the intensity of Palestinian national feeling could compare to that of the Biafrans (remember them?). It goes without saying that none of the above have achieved national liberation, or, more interestingly, have their causes enjoyed the support of Western humanitarians, liberals and radicals.

THE PLO certainly exists. It "represents" the Palestinian people to the extent that any organization in the non-democratic context of the Arab world can be said to be representative. It "represents" in the sense that no other political entity has arisen to challenge its claims, despite Israel's attempts at setting up village league leaders.

The problem of the "representative PLO" is that what it purports to represent is simply not there.

The extent to which the world — and even Israel — has been brainwashed in the last decade to swallow the thesis of the inexorability of Palestinian national liberation is stupendous.

It is also an interesting commen-

tary on world politics to consider what a combination of a handful of dedicated idealistic patriots, a much larger number of murderous thugs, inundated with Saudi and Arab Gulf oil money and flooded with Soviet-supplied arms, could accomplish.

It still does not change the fact that the PLO began its career in the absence of a Palestinian nation and has failed miserably to create one, despite the havoc it has caused to the Middle East and brought down on the heads of its own people.

THOSE TRULY interested in peace in the Middle East and in the welfare of all of its peoples should best learn to identify the true nature of the problem. There are hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs still languishing in refugee camps, after 34 years, largely due to the human insistence of the PLO itself. There are well over one million Arabs being ruled over — relatively benignly let it be said — by an Israel which, to a man, they clearly reject as an alien presence.

These are problems that are amenable to solution in the context of existing political sovereignties once the bulk of the Arab world is ready to follow in Egypt's footsteps and recognize — however distasteful it may be — Israel's permanent existence in their midst.

An independent Palestine, which would automatically be headed by the PLO leadership, can only be realized on the ashes of a destroyed Israel. But the important point to note is that, on the basis of the evidence, the Arabs called Palestinians have not themselves evinced a very convincing case of deeply rooted support for Palestinian national independence.

There should therefore be no compelling reason for the well-intentioned outside world to support such an illusory cause that has also proven so destructive.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

## POSTSCRIPTS

**PS** A 3-YEAR-OLD orange and white cat has been subpoenaed to appear in court in Galveston, Texas, as evidence in a legal wrangle between its owner and a veterinarian, according to a United Press International report.

Sharelle Overton, 19, has accused her veterinarian, Ron Ludwig, of holding her cat hostage, because she could not pay \$275 last month for surgery performed to remove a fishing line swallowed by the cat.

Overton has not seen the cat for a month, and she fears her pet may be dead.

"The cat is safe and in good hands. It is not the issue. We want to have our day in court," Ludwig's attorney said.

"Meanwhile, a group of taxi drivers who heard about the cat fight through news reports collected \$275 in an effort to get Tobias back to its owner.

"We just love cats. That's all there is to it," said Darrel Braun, one of the cab drivers who con-

tributed to the fund. Overton said she's touched by the cab drivers' concern, but she would not take their money. She wants the matter settled in court.

**PS** FOR YEARS visitors to Safad have wondered why there are no signs directing tourists to the various synagogues and holy sites. According to David Levine, director of a local community centre, the answer is to be found in a mishap that says there are no signs directing pilgrims to Jerusalem so wayfarers will ask the way and those asked will have the opportunity to invite them in and perform the mitzva of hospitality. Now, however, an English-speaking resident of Safad, Haim Sidor, has offered to take visitors around the old town and explain the sites, with the payment to go to charity. Visitors can meet Sidor at the Otzrot Hatorah bookshop in Kikar Meginim or leave a message for him in the evening at 067-71222. H.S.

## READERS' LETTERS

## MID-LIFE CHILDREN

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — Carol Novis' article, "Well born," on the subject of "mid-life children" (June 30), has given me the courage to speak out on a matter about which I feel very strongly.

I would like to entreat women approaching 40, who feel they would like to have a "mid-life child," to think very carefully before going ahead. They should not think about (to quote from the above mentioned article) "holding back old age or of filling the nest that growing children may be abandoning. Nor should the most important consideration be how much pleasure the child would bring into their lives which were getting a little empty." Women who have delayed having children because of career reasons or because they did not want them and then suddenly realize in their late thirties that either they have children now, or they never will have them, do not realize how

selfish they are. They are thinking only of themselves.

But what of the child? A "mid-life child" who grows up in a family of adults is a very lonely child. He hates the idea of his parents coming to P.T.A. meetings and the other children asking whether his grandparents have come because his parents couldn't come. A child is entitled to parents who are young and vital, who can understand him and play with him and not spoil him rotten because they do not have the patience and strong nerves in middle age, which they had in their twenties.

Ask any child who was born to parents with a double generation gap how he feels about having a mother old enough to be his grandmother, and you will almost always be told that he has suffered a great deal because of this.

PNINA YARDEN

Savyon

## WORLD REACTION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — I am very surprised by the rash of letters written by your readers all over the world condemning Israel's "violation of ethical and humanitarian principles," our "double standard" and all the other terrible things that everyone, all over the world, knows so well and is so righteous about. I wonder where these people were when the PLO began the violation of ethical and humanitarian principles, the destruction, the killing of innocent citizens, the ruin of beautiful towns and lovely resorts, archeological sites and little rural villages, seven years ago in Lebanon. Where were they when Israel protested, alone in the world, against the murder of innocent Christians in Beirut and the rest of the country? Did the Israelis stockpile thousands of tons of weapons in people's homes? Did the Israelis use another people's land as playground for games of terror?

As for the claim that the initial campaign of "Peace for Galilee" was OK, but got out of hand, isn't any consideration given to what kind of situation was found on the battlefield? When the army pushed the PLO back 40 kilometres but realized that each kilometre more meant more piles of ammunition, was the IDF to leave the PLO with their tons of weapons and missiles and rely on their good intentions?

As for the claim that the aims of the war were not what was declared in the beginning, I wonder if Motta Gur planned to take the Old City before the Six Day War broke out? Did the IDF plan to reach 40 kilometres from Damascus when the Yom Kippur War broke out?

**PENFRIENDS**  
RON BALDWIN JR. (22), of 4505 East Summit Drive, Cheyenne, Wyoming 82001, would like to correspond with Israelis between the ages of 20 and 26. His hobbies are music, camping and fishing.

Isn't it more correct to say that a battle develops in the field and realities are dictated by the necessities of the situation in the battlefield?

And finally, it is not Israel that has involved innocent citizens in a war, it is the PLO which uses the innocent population as human shields and hostages — the lowest kind of fighting known to man.

I do not believe that peace is the sole property of Peace Now. I want peace as much as any of their members, but I do not believe that, just by saying we want peace now, we will get it. If that were the case, we could have been at peace for the last 34 years with the Palestinians.

The professors and other "intellectuals" who write their protests on the basis of what they have read or seen on TV, should learn what I am sure they teach their students — to get the facts before building a theory based on wrong premises, such as the "destruction of entire cities."

B. ALEXANDERONI

Jerusalem.

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